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THE CHILD WORKERS OF THE NATION

PROCEEDINGS OF THE FIFTH ANNUAL CONFERENCE

CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

JANUARY 21-23, 1909

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CONSERVING CHILDHOOD

By Andrew S. Draper, LL. B., LL. D.
Commissioner of Education of the State of New York, Albany, N. Y.

It is yet to be proved that a wide-open democracy like ours can do some of the things which a well-ordered political society needs to have done, as well as more centralized forms of government do them with apparent ease. Indeed, it is yet to appear that we can make good the fundamental principle of our political creed and assure *equality* of right and opportunity to every one. Of course, there are compensations for the fact, but it *is* a fact.

The door of opportunity opens wider here than in any other nation in the world. The passion of the United States is that every one shall have his chance. We provide primary, secondary and higher instruction practically free of cost to all. The teaching is efficient and the equipment is ample, often sumptuous. The spirit that supports it all is delightful. The school budget is the one tax of which no good American has the hardihood to complain. The road to and through and between the schools is a broad highway. It has no breaks and no very heavy grades. No sect, no party, no social set, no commercial interest, is allowed to obstruct it. So much is settled and everywhere accepted. It is more than settled and accepted. Wealth, society, business, religion and political sagacity find their security and their pleasure in continually enlarging and strengthening the educational ideal.

The road to accomplishment and to fame is as open and as free as that to the schools. Education is not only the universal American passion, but hope, cheer, courage are the words which the most beautiful and brilliant flag in the world whispers in the ears of all, native born or adopted, who live where it casts its shadow. A national temperament which is being warmed by the intermingling of the blood, the experiences and the ideals of all the peoples of the world; which has been ennobled by the constantly enlarging opportunities and continually increasing influence of women; which has been incited by innumerable individual successes, and which has been made very confident, if not very vain, by the always

unfolding magnificence of the governmental plan, is stirred to its very depths by the opportunities and the inspirations of the American Republic. The millions who are mature enough to feel it, and who have not been borne down by conditions which are well nigh insuperable, are struggling, in season and out of season, to make the most of it. The spectacle is brilliant enough to stir the wonder, if not the jealousy, of the world. Nothing short of the *Gloria in excelsis* can express our heartfelt appreciation of it all.

Would that there were no word of qualification nor ground for apprehension. But there is, and we are old enough and strong enough to look each other in the face and say it. Our general characterization expresses great and proud truths, and perhaps the larger part of the whole truth, but still it is only a part of the whole truth. The undisclosed part is that we count a mere opening for some as the equal chance for all. It is not so; one must be helped to a place where he may enter the door of opportunity, before he has any share in the equal chance for all. Leaving further applications of the principle to be made by others, it is my mission to this Conference to say that all American children must be given the implements with which to make their way in our busy civilization before it can be said that our political system is sufficiently efficient or that equality of chance is held out to every one.

Fifty years ago we were discussing just such a question as this, and the great Lincoln, right here in the city of Chicago and the state of Illinois, was piercing the fallacy that political freedom covered the right to do wrong. Senator Douglas, a very great man, was saying that the territories should have free constitutions and be left to vote slavery up or down, according to their inclinations; but the greatest of all Illinoisans and the greatest of all Americans answered, "No, that is but temporizing with an inherent wrong." It would be logical, he said, if slavery were ever right, but for one man to claim the right to eat his bread in the sweat of another man's brow, save as the result of free contract or pursuant to bad laws already duly enacted, was essentially immoral. Slavery might be tolerated for a time where it was established by law, because even that might be better than a fratricidal war which might sever the union of the states and present an insuperable obstacle to a further democratic advance; but freedom was to be voted up and slavery must be voted down by the common action of a free nation, when

it came to territory that was already free. The people saw the point, and used the man to carry the great principle to a consummation which saved the nation.

Slavery to ignorance is no less slavery than the slavery of a serf to an overlord. It is the inherent right of the American child to be or to become free from both. The possession of at least the elementary powers to read and write, by which he may gain knowledge and make the most of himself, is an essential part of his freedom. Such possession by all the people of a free country is the country's most valuable property. It is the property of all. Every one under a free constitution has just as much of a property interest in the literacy and the efficiency of every other as he has in the performance of any other legal or moral compact. No one can waive it for himself, through his youth or his ignorance, because of the mutuality of all the obligations of the universal compact. He cannot lose it by misfortune for which he is not responsible. If he is incapable of asserting the right for himself, the legal organization set to enforce the terms of the compact is bound to enforce it for him. The right of every one to read is not to be voted up or down, as a city, a county, a district or a parent may please to vote. This is essentially so in a democracy, and more particularly in a democracy with ideals like ours. The illiteracy of an American citizen whose childhood has been passed in America is unlawful and essentially immoral. Education, an essential of freedom, is always to be voted up and everywhere enforced in a republic.

These are not idle words. In America, where we offer more education to every citizen than does any other country in the world, there are more people who cannot read or write in any language than there are in any other constitutional country in the world. The attendance upon the primary schools is less complete and regular than in any other well-ordered nation upon the globe. In Chicago or New York there is a much larger percentage of people ten years old or more who can neither read nor write than there is in London, or Paris, or Berlin, or Zurich, or Copenhagen, or even Tokio.

Illiteracy is almost a negligible quantity in the German Empire, in France, Switzerland, the Scandinavian countries and even in Japan. As I was preparing this address I had the pleasure of a call from Dr. Koht, professor of modern history in the University of

Christiania. I asked him how many children there were in the Scandinavian countries, ten years old, who could neither read nor write. He said *not any*. He seemed surprised at the question. In the state of New York there are fifty-five in a thousand, and in Illinois forty-two in a thousand.

It is easily explained. The immigration is an inadequate explanation. Immigrants from the highly or uniformly educated nations go far to offset those from the peoples where education is less diffused. Immigrants are often more jealous than native Americans of their opportunities in the schools. They more commonly settle in the cities, where the schools are convenient and where all the people are accustomed to some measure of compulsion, than in the country. There is a larger percentage of illiterate children of native born than of foreign born parents in the state of New York. This statement is also true of Illinois. There is often a larger percentage of illiteracy in the country than in the cities. The explanation is not a very complacent one. It is in the fact that we know little of national economics; that we have not acquired the habit of taking care, and particularly in the fact that we have a popular conception of freedom which does not include the vital necessity of proper restraint and compulsion as to all. It is because of our unfortunate disposition to let people do as they please, upon condition that they let us do as we please. It is because we are so indifferent in our self-confidence, so willful, resourceful and optimistic.

Probably no one will deny that we have as complete a system of school attendance and child-labor laws in New York as in any state. They are not complete, but are measurably so for America. They are harmonious. The Labor and Education Departments are in accord. It looks as though the labor laws are very well enforced. Behind them there are strong, influential and determined bodies of citizens—the labor organizations, who have direct interest in the execution of the laws which prescribe the ages, the hours and all of the conditions where many people work together. These organizations not only enforce the laws, but they create sentiment. Even the execution of the laws of itself makes sentiment. Direct interest gives energy and strength to the arm of the law. Even those people who have no direct interest and who do not think much about it, get into the habit of thinking that what happens all of the time ought to happen.

School attendance laws are without organized help. Sentiment is quite indifferent. Indeed, there is a not uncommon feeling that it is below the dignity of the state to be hunting up little children to make them go to school, and quite apart from the proper feelings of the well-to-do to be punishing poor or unworthy parents for not keeping their children in school. This feeling is much more common in the country and in smaller towns than in the larger cities. But it exists everywhere. The officers of the law look upon the enforcement of school laws as beyond their realm. The police very nearly revolt against it. The local magistrates refuse to impose punishments. It is not strange; it is not wholly unworthy; they have sympathy, and they deal with so much squalor and with what seems to them so much more serious matters, that they are glad to take a promise and let the thing go. Sometimes they are thinking about votes at the next election, but oftener they are simply expressing the very common feeling of indifference of the country. The execution of the school laws is largely left to school officers, and, without the interested aid of the officers charged with the enforcement of the penal laws, the school officers are pretty nearly helpless. The mercury which measures American public sentiment upon enforcing school attendance is well down to the freezing point. Legislators dislike to add to the efficiency of attendance laws, and governors are even more reluctant to suggest discipline upon subordinate officers, who persistently refuse to make them effective. In other words, we have the disadvantages as well as the advantages of democracy.

If our country were simply one great business corporation, with "no body to be kicked and no soul to be damned," which was expecting to continue indefinitely and was always looking for profits, its officers would do all they could to enlarge the efficiency of boys and girls, because they would know that such efficiency was the thing above all others to reinforce life and assure the repetition of dividends. If we had a king whom we sustained in the delusion or pretence that he was a sort of father to us all, he would be likely to follow courses to enlarge our productivity, without letting any of us get out of what he conceived to be our proper places, because productivity would be translated into revenues. If our country were an empire, bounded by rival empires, and likely at any time to have to fight for territory and for life, things would be arranged to make each of us contribute to the military power of the empire. Intel-

lectual acumen, versatility, craftsmanship, the working habit, are larger factors than mere physical strength in the constituent elements of military power. If our country were a constitutional monarchy or even a republic where thought and political power were not very free; where there was an inherited autocracy and superimposed aristocracy, with a false "culture" which inbreeding was degrading into insipidity, every one of us would be used for what there was in us to hold up the props which support the roofs.

Our scheme of government is not like that of any other people. Our thinking and our outlook are peculiar to ourselves. We have shown that we can govern ourselves. We have shown that in infinite and overwhelming ways our plan is stable and secure enough, and our ways open the door of opportunity to the individual and the mass. The great heart of our nation is not yearning for aristocracy or empire or military power. It does not even want a kind or a measure of learning that is not in equilibrium and in sympathy with work. We want to bear a great nation's honorable and instructive part in the progress of the world. Beyond what good neighborliness and good morals impose, we do not wish to meddle with the affairs of other peoples. We do not wish them to do more concerning our affairs. As they do not seem so disposed and as no one suspects that we would allow it if they did, there is no occasion to bluster about it. But in the interests of neighborliness and good morals we have some lessons to learn, as well as some to impart.

We do not believe in the Government using the people, but we do believe in the people using the Government. We would use this Government for a double purpose—to keep us all in good legal and moral relations with all the world, and to assure peace, security, equality of right and the utmost of opportunity to every soul in the republic. All that is inbred in us, but there is one thing that is not, and that is regard for common possessions and responsibility for the brother who is in bonds. It would, of course, be absurd to say that this is true of all of us, because those among us who have been the most successful in business have commonly become our noblest benefactors, and because vital occasions always develop a moral sense which may be counted upon. But it is not too much to say that, with all of our opportunities and all of our encouragement, there is no national policy and no national conscience in America which uses the authority of the nation to universalize and conserve the efficiency of men and women.

We are a wasteful people. We have never studied economy. We have never acquired the habit of taking care. Other peoples would live sumptuously out of the difference between what they would get and what we do get out of our properties. We know nothing of the potentiality of our resources. When we fall short we start out to find new fields rather than to find ways for increasing the productivity of old fields. Unhappily, loose habits react upon ourselves. They actually make us profligate of our boys and girls.

Just now we are enjoying a little breeze of prudence about natural resources. For once the statesmen and the orators and the magazines and the newspapers are *en rapport* with the professors of economics and the political economists generally, to make us more saving of wood and water and coal and oil and iron than we are. The agricultural colleges are telling us how to get more out of our lands, and admonishing us that if we don't treat them better and use more fertilizers they will stop yielding their fruits in season. We do more to conserve wild animals than tame ones. All the states are protecting moose and deer and fish and wild chickens. In New York we have taken up the cause of chipmunks and woodchucks, and would have done it for wolverines and gophers and badgers and prairie dogs if there were any. Such a wave of prudence is as exhilarating and encouraging as it is unprecedented and timely in America. When we get started in conserving we are likely to do a great deal of it. Surely we will not stop at the border line of human interest, and when the issue comes to be a moral one we will not forever hesitate at the point where it is necessary to compel people to do some things as well as not to do other things.

Resources alone can never provide the ballast necessary to the equipoise of a nation. The vital factors in a nation's existence, to say nothing of a nation's beneficence and moral progress, are human. In the economics of nation building the overwhelming concern will have to be about boys and girls. In all history, men and women have overcome scarcity of resources and difficulties of situation. There are compensations in the economics of God. Strong and sane peoples have used slender resources and hard situations to work out overwhelming results. Unsubstantial and frivolous peoples have been overcome by the very plentitude of materials and the very advantage of situation. Great peoples have made themselves the greater by overcoming the hardness of situation. But no

people has ever grown great unless tradition or the force of circumstances or intellectual prescience was larger than the material factors in the compounding of its future. Poverty or a sufficiency, rather than inordinate wealth, helps nations as well as individual men and women.

We are wealthy in natural resources. In woods and waters and mines we are a "millionaire" nation. We have no conception of the potential possibilities of our boundless areas of tillable lands, for we have never had to make the most of them. We hold a low estimate of the possibilities of domestic animals. We do not realize the wealth that is yet in our mountains. We have even less appreciation of the associated worth of our hills and valleys and lowlands; of our lakes and streams and cascades; of the rains and dews that nourish us, and of the climate that stimulates us to make the most of material things. We have endless coasts washed by the two great oceans; deep, sheltered harbors in all latitudes, and the busy highways of the nations are and must ever be across the lands and waters that are under our flag.

But we have more than wealth of natural resources. History, tradition, severe fighting for freedom, the hard struggles of pioneers, much thinking and strong moral purpose have been the warp, as much as the wealth of a new continent has been the woof, of our civilization. There was something in the blood of our fathers; there is something in the blood which all the nations are continually sending to us; something in the compounding of the English nation, and something more in the compounding of the American nation; something in the factors which have produced, and something in the results which have grown out of the steady advance of religious and political freedom through a thousand years, to make us a keen, quick, alert and ambitious people. This in turn is disclosing our enormous natural wealth. It is disclosing our cunning, our avarice, our pertinacity, also. Is our political system going to be equal to the new strains which the new situations put upon it? We have no doubt of it. But there is enough about it all to challenge the wisdom of the generation that is here, and to quicken the red blood of the one that is coming on.

"Conserving natural resources," if not an American phrase, has an American meaning. It describes a movement to stop a few great characters, through a few overpowering corporations to which

we have delegated much of the power which belongs to all of us in common, from getting our common possessions into their own hands, or from despoiling great inheritances which have come to us in common. This does not necessarily mean anything against these great characters; most of us admire most of them. Often they are as great in their patriotism and in their rational generosity as in their business sagacity. It means nothing, essentially, against the corporations. Their development of resource has been a necessary force in the development of a new country. It means merely that the time has come for a little more assertion of common rights in common property. It is more against a further absorption that is coming to amount to sequestration of our goods, than against a national profligacy that has not yet put us in sore straits. The outcome of so much of "conservation" seems hopeful. Certainly it is grateful. But it is to be feared that greater prudence in the use of whatever goods each of us can lawfully gather will not seize upon us until we are in a tighter pinch than now.

With all of our national wastefulness we are more profligate of childhood than of any other factor in the nation's life. We are not only lax about requiring attendance upon the schools, but we have pretty nearly given over the control and direction of children who live at home and exist in the regular order. The common authority presumes too much upon the proper exercise of the authority of parents. It does not take into account the number of parents who are so vicious or weak that they have no right to have children, or the number of unfortunate children who would be better off if they were orphans. And, largely through the influence of a sentimentalism that is fully half bad, the children in three-quarters of the better homes and in the schools are given their own sweet way to an extent which weakens their characters for life.

We cannot exculpate the schools. They are as wasteful of child life as are the homes. From the bottom to the top of the American educational system we take little account of the time of the child. We are anxious to do everything under the sun, and to put into the young head of a child all that he is ever expected to know. The sentimental and well-meaning people load everything upon us. So we have eight or nine elementary grades for work which would be done in six if we were working mainly for productivity and power. We have shaped our secondary schools so that

they confuse the thinking of youth and break the equilibrium between education and vocations and people and industries. Our university facilities divide up the time of students between their departments with as much enthusiasm as a young surgeon goes at an autopsy. The departments get what they must have to sustain themselves and the subjects get the consequences of it. They pay for it in time or in attenuated courses and unremunerated work. The training is for the professions, and if the universities are let alone the students will not be ready for life before they are thirty years of age. That keeps young people unmarried and unsettled too long, and it works havoc in life in obvious ways.

In the graded elementary schools of the state of New York less than half of the children remain to the end of the course. They do not start early enough. They do not attend regularly enough. The course is too full of mere pedagogical method, exploitation and illustration, if not of kinds and classes of work. The terms are too short and the vacations too long. It all overworks and worries teachers, so that to live at all, they have to have short terms. More than half the children drop out by the time they are fourteen or fifteen, the limits of the compulsory attendance age, because the work of the schools is behind the age of the pupils and we do not teach them the things which lead them and their parents to think it will be worth their while to remain.

The compulsory attendance age should begin at six, or at seven at the most, and the course should be freed from everything not of fundamental importance to the early training of a child. I am not for going back to the simple work of a half-century ago. I am quite aware of the fact that the child is to live in a complex civilization. But I am sure that there is no need to teach him, before he is fourteen years of age, everything that it may ever be well for him to know. I am quite sure that it is desirable to induce society to expend its devotion to culture upon the school grounds and the schoolhouse, and leave the children to bathe in the sunlight of these things while the teachers are allowed to train them in the things they must know in order to be self-supporting and a support to the state. I am no less sure that the multiplicity of books and appliances and the endless exploitation and illustration in the teaching may well be severely reduced. It is not often a question of what or how it may be well to teach a child if the element of time is not to be

considered; generally it is a question of what we can teach him before he is fourteen years old that will be of most worth to him in after years.

There is another side of this subject that is staring right at us. That is the unpreparedness of children for any vocation which is not literary or professional; the undue public and school influence upon ambitious temperaments to choose mental rather than manual work; and the utter indifference of the educational system in the past to the intellectual and industrial equilibrium of the country.

Now, I am not saying or implying that a poor boy shall not enter a profession or aspire to any position in the land. That is for him to settle. The roads are to be open to every child, no matter under what sort of a roof he is born. There is not only one road, but many, and he is not to be persuaded by always present injunctions and implications to enter one particular road when there is grave doubt about it being the best one for him. All the roads are to be made good, and his all-around qualities are to be trained until he sees the road which seems the best to himself.

The finest successes come not so much from learning as from doing, and an educational system which does not recognize that fact and act up to it needs radical reforming. The conspicuous successes in life do not attend those who are the star students upon commencement morning more than those who find something that they can do and who do it with all their might. I have been surprised at the number of college men who gain success, although for one reason or another they left college without a degree. The captains are those who can command. We have been trying to impose upon labor a leadership which was not accustomed to labor and did not know any too much about the details of labor. We have trained for culture and for expertness and for examinations. It is time to train for craftsmanship, and let *workmen* of character and efficiency forge to the front. They will do it even though the signals are set against them, or else there will be little accomplishment and small progress. Why not arrange the scheme so as to make it easier for them to do it?

If we are to do anything substantial in the way of conserving American childhood, we will have to control it. We will have to insure its attendance upon instruction, and we will have to train it to efficiency of hand even more than smartness of head. Character

will come out of labor before competency will come out of mere culture of mind. How long shall we proceed upon the fundamental mistake that there is any culture worth the name which does not grow out of work, or any real manliness or womanliness which has not proceeded from things that have been done? I am not saying that necessarily the things done must have been done by the hand, but I do think that the culture is likely to be deeper and the character the stronger if the things done have been done in the sweat of the brow.

We need a new order of public schools, a system on parallel lines with the literary high schools, a system which will train in hand work and which will not assume to train captains, but workmen; a system which will permit no short cuts to the position of master workmen, but will fit for that of journeyman in shorter time. We need a system which will stand fair between every interest of all the people; a system which will do definite things and open the door of opportunity to a multitude against whom it is now closed, a system which will dignify hand labor and go a long way to restore the balance which we have been losing, to the diminution of our efficiency and therefore, of our happiness at home, as well as to the injury of our trade relations with the other nations of the world.

Of course, the people whose feelings are expressed in this notable assemblage need no other argument than the exclusively moral one to quicken their interest in the conservation of American childhood. It has been the political assumption of the Republic that none other is necessary. But it must begin to be evident that even the economic interests of an empire, even the apprehensions and aspirations of the man on horseback, may go further than the moral sense of a democracy must necessarily go to make an elementary training of the children universal. Something beyond the open chance, and something beyond our encouragement and good wishes, will have to operate if we are to conserve the youth of the United States and steadily advance the efficiency, and therefore the character, the happiness and the prosperity of the country. We will have to have an always up-to-date enrollment of every child in the land, and some responsible central authority will have to see that every one gets that fundamental training in useful things, which, under the theories of all respectable governments is his in his own right, and which the manifest interests of every country inexorably demand that he shall have.

As already observed, when we really commence a good thing we do much of it. President Roosevelt is following his notable movement for conserving natural resources with another, which is to have the attention of a distinguished conference in Washington next week, in the interests of neglected and defective children. That is admirable. It will be one of the many good things which will make the administration of Roosevelt prominent in the history of the country. But we must go still further. We must take up the claims of the overwhelming number of children who are reasonably normal and not very destitute. We must conserve their time, their mental and manual efficiency and their morals. We must have them all recorded and see that every one has the benefit of his birthright. We must exercise more control. We must see that every one is trained to read and write and prepared for some vocation by which he can make a living. Then there will not be so many degenerates and waifs in the next generation or in the one after that.

There seems to be little room for issues of fact or differences of opinion among us. In college vocabulary, we offer to all the people more wide-open electives in our educational system from top to bottom, and require less, than does any other country. They offer less and require more than we do. They certainly get more in a circumscribed but exact elementary training universally diffused than we do. We shall withdraw no offerings; we shall doubtless make more. But that is not enough. In the moral interests of boys and girls, in the interests of industrial prosperity, in the interests of the Republic and in the interests of democracy and freedom in the world we are bound not only to see that every child can read and write, but to follow him until he has the chance to enter upon a vocation which will make him respectable and of worth to the world.

In the advance of our educational system we have not maintained the balance. The unequal chance, the fallacious outlook, works injustice to multitudes of people and to many industries. Our education should put a premium upon work of hand. It is the only way to enlarge the open chance without confusing and misleading boys and girls.

We should all stand for laws establishing better and safer conditions for labor, and particularly for laws which try to keep greed from robbing children of their American birthright. But when we exclude children from work, we must include them in the schools.

Too much work is bad, but too much idleness is infinitely worse. The schools are bound to be of a kind and character which will enable them to count organized labor among their strongest supports.

We are in the midst of a great task. We are working out the basis and the details of the greatest industrial democracy in human history. Let us lose nothing of our good humor. Let us abate nothing of our confidence and our courage. Let us prove that our indifference is more apparent than real. Let us tone down our conceits and our boasting. Let us cultivate toleration of opinion and be generous in our estimates. Let us think straight, with an open mind, expecting to give and take and come to common conclusions. Let us use our political power without fear when with good purpose. Let us say nothing for mere novelty; nothing to catch the eye of a newspaper which scares itself for revenue only. Let us go on exercising more and more control in the interests of decency and thrift, and making the forces of righteousness more aggressive than the forces of evil dare to be.

There is no need of misgivings. What is upon us was bound to come. We should have expected it, and we can handle it. When the moral sense of the nation is once stirred it acts quickly and forcefully. A democracy with the finest possibilities for every one is better than a monarchy which, in one way or another keeps a whole people in bondage. Of course, there are difficulties. It is harder for a people to agree together and execute their purpose than for a monarch or minister who reckons not with the popular mind to settle things. But even old Talleyrand declared that public opinion was mightier than any monarch who ever lived. We have broken out roads and we will break out more. We will consider until we conclude what to have done, and then we will not be so squeamish about vesting executive officers with the power to carry it out. Our plan of government has already justified its being. It will do so more completely. When it has solved our problems upon a basis of reason and of right, as it will, the people will be the happier and the state the stronger, because in our education we shall be better balanced; in our industries we shall be more efficient, and in our politics and our religion we shall be more free.

(I.)—DUTY OF A RICH NATION TO TAKE CARE OF HER CHILDREN

By Isaac N. Seligman.
Chairman, *pro tempore,* National Child Labor Committee, New York City.

It is a great privilege for me formally to open these interesting sessions, and I bring to you all a message of cheer and encouragement from the East. The honor of addressing you to-day falls on my shoulders as temporary chairman.

Our Chairman, Professor Felix Adler—that valiant champion in all movements for the betterment of his fellow-beings—has been called to Berlin University, where he is now delivering a course of useful lectures. It was he who, from the very first meeting for the organization of the National Child Labor Committee, has given it its best ideals, and from him our Board of Trustees and workers throughout the several states received constantly fresh incentive and inspiration in the performance and continuance of the work. I am actively interested in many fields of social work, but I venture to say that few if any of them have afforded me keener pleasure or more thorough satisfaction than my association with the child labor movement.

It is customary in formally opening proceedings to render an account of our stewardship—what has been accomplished; what goal it was hoped to achieve; wherein obstacles have been encountered. To review the operations of last year affords a pleasing retrospect. The Committee has practically no floating debt. It has been said that it is much simpler to finance a surplus than a deficit. The Committee depends for its financial support on voluntary contributions. A dozen or more gentlemen, deeply interested, subscribe annually sums from $100 to $500; but the Committee depends chiefly on regular annual membership, which comprises sustaining members, persons contributing $25 or more; and associate members, persons contributing $2 or more. These subscribers, to the number of nearly 3000, have enrolled as annual contributors, thus manifesting their sympathy in the waging of war against the evils of child labor. I trust that all those present, and those absentees who are inter-

ested in the work of the National Child Labor Committee, will enroll themselves as members, thereby having the pleasurable satisfaction of annually contributing their mite to the saving of child life, and keeping open in this fair land of ours the door of opportunity for every child. The work of the society can be more effectively increased, and greater results can be achieved, if it could depend on an annual income of $10,000 to $15,000.

In surveying the work accomplished by the National Child Labor Committee, we can honestly affirm that great progress has been made. Goethe, the German poet and philosopher, laid down three axioms as a test for the value of all undertakings:

1. What does one propose doing?
2. Is it worth doing?
3. Has it been well done?

I think we may fairly claim, after you have listened to the able speakers who will address you on many interesting subjects, that you will say to yourselves, the work is worth doing, and has been well done.

The subject assigned to me this evening is a particularly agreeable one—"Duty of a Rich Nation to Take Care of Her Children." The subject is a vast one, and hours could be profitably employed in discussing this problem. What is the duty of a wealthy nation to its wards? To what extent, and in what manner, shall a nation guard its weak, sick or suffering? There may be honest differences of opinion as to the duty of the state, or the nation, or private capital being enlisted to erect hospitals, homes or institutions, but there cannot be any difference of views as to the necessity of the nation passing such laws as will protect the lives of our tender children working in any path of life. I have always maintained that in spite of the prodigality and liberality of our Government in many directions, it has been remiss in doing so little for the needy, sick and poor. The large majority of institutions throughout our land have been erected, and are maintained, by private subscriptions and endowments. In England, France and Germany, in fact, in most European countries, the asylums for the young, hospitals, convalescent homes and so on are built and are conducted more largely under supervision of the government. The public is not asked to erect or maintain such homes. In our country the majority of hospitals, convalescent homes, institutions of all

kinds, although frequently aided by state funds, must find the wherewithal to subsist through private charity.

Opinions may differ as to which system is most productive of good results but it appears to me that the European system is sounder and wiser, and is less liable to cripple the usefulness of such institutions at times when the country suffers from financial disturbances. Already Germany's policy in establishing the old-age pension system has been taken up by France and England. Perhaps in time such a system will be followed in our own country.

It seems to me that it is the paramount duty of the state or nation to take care of, or aid, those who, by misfortune or accident, are disabled from earning their living. Private charity should not be continually called upon to do what is clearly the duty of the city, state or nation. There are many other directions in which private charity can be usefully dispensed if the state or city relieved the public of the financial burden of building, repairing and maintaining hospitals and institutions. We must realize that the socialistic spirit is everywhere spreading. We have lately seen in many European countries the policy adopted by the government giving work and devising undertakings for the unemployed during times of distress. Concessions are being continually made by the party in power more thoroughly to satisfy the middle and poorer community. If the government feels the necessity of giving work to the poor, is it not morally bound to maintain those unable to work? The natural liberality of the American to devote his means or private fortune to some useful end, and his prompt, chivalric and substantial answer to the appeals from the poor and needy, have apparently stifled the government's, state's or city's readiness to perform its clear duty in doing its share in proper relief. It is true that there are quite a number of people who believe that charities and relief of the aged, infirm and suffering can be more effectually managed by private charities than through the direct instrumentality of the state. I will concede that, in many instances, private management may prove more satisfactory; but the spectacle of some hospitals and institutions being forced to close their doors or restrict their usefulness from want of funds is deplorable. Such a condition of affairs cannot occur abroad under state control. However your view of the responsibility of the state for the relief or protection of the adult may differ from mine, I am satisfied that there can be no dissenting voice as to the impera-

tive duty and moral obligation of a nation, and, if rich, the greater the obligation, to guard and watch its *younger children,* and surround their tender lives with such safeguards as will better protect their health and lives, thus doing its share to enable them in time to become honest, decent and useful citizens.

Omitting from the discussion the obligation of the state, and not private charity, to erect and maintain orphan asylums, protectories for children, homes for little waifs, there is the overpowering moral duty of the state and nation to pass laws to regulate the number of hours of employment for children, say, under sixteen years of age, and to prevent them from working in occupations distinctly hurtful to their health and morals, and to prohibit absolutely any child under fourteen years of age being employed for wages. The various states, through the ministration and inspiration of the National Child Labor Committee, are actively engaged in this humane and noble task. We have now twenty-six state and local Child Labor Committees, whose efforts are co-ordinated and supplemented by our National Committee, and we are constantly receiving appeals from many states to aid them in securing better laws for the coming year. These are encouraging signs. It shows that public interest and sympathy in this great work have been awakened.

Do you realize that one in every twenty of all the children in the country from the age of ten to sixteen years is working in a factory, coal mine, trade or transportation, many of them slaving in the night in grimy workshops in big cities, deprived in most cases of elementary education, and forced in many instances to associate with vile and evil companionship? These are the crying evils which the National Child Labor Committee is trying to rectify, and these are the evils which our nation must suppress. Many difficulties are encountered in locating and ascertaining the source of the evils. The owners of factories employing child labor are, in many cases, loath to give information, and even the parents of the children working in undesirable occupations and surroundings falsify the ages of their children. It has been humorously said that a factory child passes from the age of eleven to the prescribed age of fourteen years without any due regard to the Gregorian Calendar.

The National Child Labor Committee hopes to secure, at an early session of Congress, the passage of a bill for a Federal Children's Bureau, the object of the bill being to investigate questions

of infant mortality, the birth rate, physical degeneracy, juvenile delinquency, and juvenile courts, desertion, illegitimacy, employment of children in dangerous occupations and all legislation bearing on the health, efficiency, character and training of children. This will afford the Committee and the public valuable information and ammunition to cope better with the evils of child labor.

Child labor means moral impairment and physical destruction, and it is the duty of the state to protect the tender childhood, and not allow the young lives to be sacrificed at the altar of greedy employers, or even by selfish parents. As has been nobly said: "The child means more to the community than any material gain." I firmly believe that, when we have established in *all* the states of the Union proper and restrictive laws to save child life, we shall have accomplished a great achievement. Kipling has truly said that we must teach people to live before we teach them to learn. When we, as a nation, have accomplished this beneficent end, we shall have conferred on our country a lasting blessing, and shall have left to generations to come a noble legacy, whereof we may justly feel proud. Give us your warm sympathy and active support, and we pledge you that we will not shrink or retire from the battlefield until we have won the fight.

(II.)—DUTY OF A RICH NATION TO TAKE CARE OF HER CHILDREN

By Professor Charles R. Henderson,
Representing the Governor of Illinois.

His Excellency, Governor Deneen, has requested me to present his sincere regrets and to speak for him the welcome of our commonwealth and his own deep personal interest in the causes here represented. It is possible for citizens of Illinois to appear in this company with something of elation and hope, because we have fought a good fight and succeeded fairly well up to this time in advancing the interests of the working children in this region. We always think of the pioneer services of Mrs. Florence Kelley and her fellow-workers at Hull House and elsewhere, who have stood with womanly zeal and patriotic devotion for humane legislation. They have not only been interpreters of the poor to the rich, but they have helped the rich and the strong to discover their own best interests and their own best selves, for so long as a manager of industry is permitted to do wrong and to be cruel, even in ignorance, his conscience is hardened and his nobler nature never has a chance fully to assert itself. Therefore, while men have been made indignant by this movement in our state, they have doubtless come upon reflection and after experience to see that we do not represent a class interest, but the interest of the whole people and of the human race.

Our present Factory Inspector, Edgar T. Davies, also deserves a word of honorable mention in this connection. He has honestly endeavored, not only to enforce the law, but to study it in its working and effects with all fidelity; to secure competent advice, and to give wise counsel to those who have power to make laws. If our esteemed Governor were present, he himself could speak with confidence and pride of what has been accomplished. We acknowledge that much remains to be done in Illinois, but what has been achieved is a pledge and token of what earnest and brave hearts are determined to do in the future.

What obligations does our national wealth impose upon us in every commonwealth where industries are carried on?

(1) First of all our numerous and rapidly increasing wealth takes from us the paltry excuse that child labor is necessary to support industry. So long as strong and willing men and women are almost begging for employment it is false to claim that the commodities needed by human society require the exploitation of childhood.

(2) Nor can we say, with any shadow of reason, that the labor of any child under fourteen is necessary to support a widowed mother or a sick father. Indeed, no state and no nation can afford to offer up such a sacrifice to such an end. The widowed mother and sick father should, indeed, have the relief which their wants require, but let that be done at the expense of the capable and the successful, not at the cost of innocent and immature human beings. The nation must not use up its children in the present, because they are needed in the fullness of their strength in the future. No more short-sighted economic policy was ever pursued by a benighted people than the policy of destroying childhood in mines, mills and factories.

(3) If our industries were required to prevent all avoidable accident and disease due to the hazard of occupation and by a system of insurance, provide for families temporarily or permanently deprived of income by injury or invalidism, there would be far less need of either public or private charity than now, and children would not be asked to carry a burden which manufacturers should bear.

What are the specific duties of the nation, acting as it must, chiefly through state legislation and administration?

(1) First, it should provide bureaus for a thorough and a constant *investigation* of the condition of child life. An occasional, and even periodical, investigation is not adequate. The evils of child labor are constantly pressing upon our attention. There will always be a temptation on the part of certain short-sighted employers to think that child labor is cheap. So long as light machinery, driven by inanimate power, makes it possible, some one will be found to employ children. On the other hand, poverty will always present a strong incentive to ignorant parents to send their children where they can add a little to the immediate income of the family. Children themselves sometimes desire to escape from school, and to have, at least, a little spending money of their own. Both of

these are ignorant of the ultimate effects of factory work. The custom of immigrants to work with their children in the field has a similar effect, and country people are not aware of the dangers of urban industries. Therefore, the State and the Federal Government must provide a constant corps of inspectors and investigators for the study of the changing conditions in factories and mills.

(2) In the second place, we must work for *uniformity* in the laws of the several states in order that the manufacturers of the different states may be treated fairly in their competition with each other. Whether this shall be done by some Federal law or by state laws introduced through a joint commission cannot be discussed at this moment, though it deserves full attention.

(3) Uniformity of legislation is not so important as a *higher standard* for legislation—though both are closely connected.

(4) In the fourth place, we must work out far more completely than we have ever done yet a policy for the transition period between the play and school activities of young children, and the steady occupations of mature persons. This period, extending from about the fourteenth to the seventeenth year, has not been sufficiently considered in our movement. It should receive much more prominent place in the Anti-Child Labor Creed than it has yet had. The fact that a discussion of the connection between child-labor legislation and trade instruction of young persons is on our program shows that this thought has found a welcome in many minds throughout the Union. Indeed, our cause has been seriously hindered hitherto because it was thought that we had not made provision for the proper occupation of children during this transition period. We have given apparently too much ground for the declaration that it would be better to keep the child busy in the factory than to let him run idly on the streets. Of course, no such alternative is necessary or was ever thought of by any of us, but we must in our discussion remove all just ground for this criticism.

THE FEDERAL CHILDREN'S BUREAU
A SYMPOSIUM

I. By Lillian D. Wald, New York,[1]
Member of Board of Trustees of National Child Labor Committee.
Headworker, Henry Street Settlement.

Although the National Child Labor Committee stands sponsor for the bill introduced into Congress for the establishment in the Department of the Interior of a Children's Bureau, the Committee can no longer claim sole guardianship of this measure, nor would it indeed desire to do so.

Two and three days ago, twenty-five thousand clergymen in these United States proclaimed once again from pulpits of all creeds the eternal message of the value of the child, outlined to their hearers the modern conception of childhood's claim upon society and the obligations to the child of a society which has prospered by all the results of a progressive civilization. They asked their congregations, whether Jew or Gentile, to consider and support this effort to bring the child into his heritage of this civilization. And not only have the twenty-five thousand clergymen and their congregations shown their desire to participate in furthering this bill, but organizations of many diverse kinds have assumed a degree of sponsorship that indicates indisputably how universal has been its call to enlightened mind and heart. The national organizations of Women's Clubs, the Consumers' Leagues throughout the country, college and school alumnae associations, societies for the promotion of special interests of children, the various state Child Labor Committees, representing in their membership and executive committees, education, labor, law medicine and business, have officially given endorsement. The press, in literally every section of the country, has given the measure serious editorial discussion and approval. Not one dissenting voice has it been possible to discover—not one utterance contradicts the principles that have been laid down by these various representatives of humanitarian thought and unselfish patriotism throughout America, and which values they believe the bill will advance, or that within its scope lie potentialities for such broadening.

[1]This address was delivered at the hearing on the bill to establish the Federal Children's Bureau, held January, 1909, before the House Committee on Expenditures in the Department of the Interior.

It may be, at first, something of a shock to hear of taking the child out of the realm of poetry and pure sentiment into the field of scientific, organized care and protection; but only to the superficially sentimental could it appear that the poetry and purity of childhood might be sacrificed by using all the fruits of modern thought, study, experience and knowledge to their advantage—"Even the least of these." What would the Bureau do? What measures for the advantage of the child, the future citizen and the country would the Bureau further? What innovations in governmental functions would the Bureau introduce? These are pertinent questions that may well be asked, and which must be answered to the satisfaction of the men in both Houses of Congress before we shall have the right to ask them to vote for its creation. The Bureau would be a clearing house, a source of information and reliable education on all matters pertaining to the welfare of children and child life, and especially it would investigate and report upon the questions now nowhere answered in complete or unified form, and whose enormous importance to national life is so strikingly evident.

It would fix upon government the responsibility. The attitude now is not unlike the small boy's, of whom my friend in New York tells. He had told him of the story of Nero. The brutality of the monster was vividly related; how he slew his mother, how he played while Rome burned, etc., etc. The boy showed no concern and to draw him out my friend said, "Well, what do you think of that kind of a man?" "He never done nothin' to me," quoth the boy, with a shrug.

The Bureau would investigate legislation affecting children in the several states and territories, and all other facts that have a bearing upon the health, the efficiency, the character, the happiness and the training of children. Orphanage has many aspects that should call out the wisdom of the sages. Perhaps not enough has been done. Perhaps, in some respects, too much. The orphan is a child and orphanage means to some people, even now, the commitment to an asylum, the child lost in the obsession to an institution. Many are like the pious philanthropist who prayed, "Oh Lord, send us many orphans, that we may build the new wing to the asylum." Nothing would the Bureau do to duplicate any work now being done by state or federal government, but it would strengthen this work and bring into immediate usefulness all of the statistical facts

that may lie in the treasure-house of any governmental department or any private association. Practical co-operation of this kind, based on intelligent sympathy, has already been assured by the far-seeing chief of the Educational Bureau and the head of the Census Bureau. As much of the results of their researches as would enrich the Children's Bureau would be laid before it almost without the asking, and yet, important as is their information and their knowledge, it covers only a part of what pertains to the whole great question of the wisest and most enlightened guardianship of our children—the most valuable natural asset of our nation. Literally the Education Bureau is the only thing that has been established by the government which could be directly construed for the children,—from which it might be said that we as a nation are indifferent.

The Children's Bureau would not merely collect and classify information, but it would be prepared to furnish to every community in the land information that was needed, and diffuse knowledge that had come through experts' study of facts valuable to the child and to the community. Many extraordinarily valuable methods have originated in America and have been seized by communities other than our own as valuable social discoveries. Some communities in this country have had more or less haphazard legislation, and there is abundant evidence of the desire to have judicial construction to harmonize and comprehend it. As matters now are within the United States, many communities are retarded and hampered by the lack of just such information and knowledge, which, if the Bureau existed, could be readily available. Some communities within the United States have been placed in most advantageous positions as regards their children, because of the accident of the presence of public spirited individuals in their midst who have grasped the meaning of the nation's true relation to the children, and have been responsible for the creation of a public sentiment which makes high demands. But nowhere in the country does the government, as such, provide information concerning vitally necessary measures for the children. Evils that are unknown or underestimated have the best chance for undisturbed existence and extension, and there where light is most needed, there is still darkness. Ours is, for instance, the only great nation which does not know how many children are born and how many die in each year within its borders; still less do we know how many die in infancy of preventable dis-

eases; how many blind children might have seen the light, for one-fourth of the totally blind need not have been so had the science that has proved this been made known in even the remotest sections of the country.

Registration and our statistics on these matters are but partial, and their usefulness is minimized by the unavoidable passage of time before their appearance. There could be no greater aid to the reduction of infant mortality than full and current vital statistics of children, such as no one community can obtain for itself, and for want of which young lives, born to be valuable to society, are wasted. We realize only occasionally, or after the occurrence of some tragedy, how little is known of other important incidents of the children's lives. We can not say how many are in the jails or almshouses, though periodically the country is stirred by some newspaper report such as that of the little boy of twelve sentenced to five years in a federal penitentiary, or that of a little boy confined for some months upon a trivial charge and incarcerated with a murderer, and other evil men and women, in the cell of a county jail. Outside the few states which have juvenile courts, there is chaos in the treatment and punishment of difficult children, and largely because of lack of knowledge concerning this important matter. This information can not be effectively obtained by private agencies. It is too vital to be left to that chance. Only the federal government can cover the whole field and tell us of the children with as much care as it tells of the trees or the fishes or the cotton crop!

I remember that some three years ago, when it was our pleasure to bring this suggestion before the President, his first expression of approval was, if I recall rightly, that "It is bully." It was a coincidence that the Secretary of Agriculture was departing that same morning for the South to find out what danger to the community lurked in the appearance of the boll weevil. That brought home, with a very strong emphasis to the appeal, the fact that nothing which could have happened to the children would have called forth such official action on the part of the Government.

What measures for the advantage of the child and the country would the Bureau further? No direct responsibility or administrative function for furthering new measures would fall upon the experts of a Children's Bureau, but proceeding by the experience

of other scientific bodies there would be ample justification for employing the best minds of the country for the application of the knowledge gained, by using the stimulus of suggestion and education. It takes no stretch of the imagination to believe that, with the light of knowledge turned by responsible experts upon all phases of the problem of the child, the American people could be trusted, if not with the immediate solution, then with serious consideration, for what appears to be a national apathy is not really so in fact. What innovation in the governmental function would this introduce? This measure for the creation of a Children's Bureau can claim no startling originality. It would introduce no innovation—no new principle—in the function of government. It is along the line of what we have been doing for many years to promote knowledge on other interests, on material matters. Look carefully into the history of the development and present scope of the various bureaus within the authority of the Government, and ample and fascinating analogies will be found.

Other countries, too, have awakened to realize the import of efficient guardianship of their children, have gathered expert information and are using it under the leadership of trained specialists. The French call this development "Child Culture," which implies the use of scientific minds and trained powers, co-ordinated functions, and the protection of the state to the end of efficient manhood through a well guarded childhood. Current literature every day shows the trend of civilized people to fix the responsibility upon the present generation to preserve and cultivate its resources, indeed charging as a crime against us any reckless waste of these. The English children's bill, that within a day or two has become "An Act," is the best example of this as regards the children. That bill is a most remarkable document indeed, covering practically every incident in the child's life that might come within the concern of the Government. Its ninety folio pages constitute a complete code, and reflect not only the wide range of the government's information, but cover every interesting phase of the development of this vital, social and economic matter. A "veritable children's charter," it has been called. The forms of the English government and ours differ. We do not desire the code; details and administration can be left to the states; but we do desire and we most urgently need information, and the best means of broad publicity on all

matters relating to the children, that the national intelligence and conscience may be stirred. The full responsibility for the wise guardianship of these children lies upon us. We cherish belief in the children, and hope, through them, for the future. But no longer can a civilized people be satisfied with the casual administration of that trust. Does not the importance of this call for the best statesmanship that our country can produce? I ask you to consider whether this call for the children's interests does not imply the call for our country's interests. Can we afford to take it? Can we afford not to take it? For humanity, for social well-being, for the security of the Republic's future, let us bring the child into the sphere of our national care and solicitude.

II. By Jane Addams.

Hull House, Chicago, Ill.

There is very little to add to all the pleas which have been made for the establishment of this Federal Bureau in the interests of children. I shall, however, try to point a moral and adorn a tale from the history of this Child Labor Committee itself.

In the very early days, its annual meetings consisted largely of the people working in their various states to secure some adequate child labor legislation, and they came together to swap stories and to cheer each other forward on their very difficult and stony ways. Gradually it became evident that there was needed at least one central secretary who should discover those states in which no one was even working for child labor legislation; who might be able to visit those states and arouse interest. Another of his duties should be to look over all the states of the Union, dividing the people, as it were, into territory where the first important work needed to be done, and into another territory where information needed to be furnished toward the best methods of securing legislation, and still other territory where unbridled enthusiasm needed to be restrained.

Gradually it was discovered that more than one man was needed, as is shown by the reports of the three secretaries of the Committee, one representing the New England States, another the

Southern States, and still another the States of the Ohio Valley. They prove how absurd state lines are when it comes to industrial questions; how exactly the same industrial conditions prevail, for instance, in that little three-cornered spot near the meeting of two rivers which contains a piece of West Virginia, a piece of Pennsylvania and a piece of Ohio, and where the child labor legislation in the three states differs almost as widely as possible.

Of course, the moral is that a Federal Bureau naturally would have nothing to do with state lines, and that only a Federal authority could adequately deal with such a situation.

The growth of this Committee in still another direction illustrates the need of a Federal Bureau which shall furnish information in regard to children. During the very first years in the life of the Committee, it was found necessary to gather careful information, not only about child labor laws, but also in regard to compulsory education laws, because the two must be articulated in order to work smoothly. In later annual meetings a great deal was said in regard to industrial education, both as tending to hold children longer in school and fitting them for work. It was discovered, however, that the educational authorities knew nothing in regard to the children during those first two or three perplexing years after they left school and went to work. The children themselves could not find any connection between the things they had learned and the things they were called upon to do, and they all believed, as one boy said to me, that the commencement orator knew what he was talking about when he said they were going out into a cold world. Thus the Child Labor Committee, in pursuit of its aims, was forced from one aspect of child life to another. To-night, as you see, the talk has come more and more to a consideration of health—"conservation" is a popular word—and the Committee is now working for the conservation of the health and efficiency of the children of the nation.

What does all this mean? Certainly two things. One is that these great questions of education and child labor cannot be adequately cared for by states whose boundaries are determined by rivers and mountains, and seem to have nothing to do with industrial problems, and that these problems therefore must be dealt with by a federal authority having power to transcend state lines. Secondly, that we cannot confine our attention to child labor and detach

it from all other things which pertain to children, and that we are forced into a consideration of education, of health, of recreation, into all sorts of other questions which can only be adequately dealt with and their inter-relation understood, if some bureau of dignity and authority is empowered to consider them.

Only the United States itself is in a position to take charge of such a bureau. Does it not seem that the small effort of the National Child Labor Committee—the effort was small at the beginning, and it is small yet compared to the need—illustrates the need of a Federal Bureau which shall be concerned with the interests of children? Is it not inevitable that this Committee itself should be the way to its establishment in Washington? The Committee goes on to Washington for a hearing before the Committee in the House of Representatives on January 27; but such a Bureau will only be established if throughout the United States there is a great interest in it, if the people everywhere feel that it is necessary, not merely that another Bureau shall be added to an already complicated series of governmental bureaus but that a Bureau shall be established which is going to do something which the people demand and feel ought to be done. Such action on the part of the Government may in time do away with the popular impression that the Federal Government is remote and far away, that it seems to concern itself more with canned meats and fisheries than it does with things which have to do with human life and a sane social progress. Nothing after all can make the Government appear quite so—shall we say vital—to the best interests of the nation as the establishment of a Bureau which would concern itself with the appealing and the rewarding task of looking after its children.

III. By Leo Arnstein.

New York.

It seems peculiarly fitting that the subject of the Federal Children's Bureau should be discussed at a meeting of the National Child Labor Committee, a society whose very existence is based upon the principle that there is a fundamental distinction between the adult and the child, and that in order to have an adult population worthy of the name we must cherish and guard the child in its formative period.

The advisability of establishing a Federal Children's Bureau resolves itself quite naturally into two questions: 1st, is the child worth saving? 2nd, does the proposed establishment of a Federal Children's Bureau give promise of accomplishing the desired end? Assuming that the child is worth saving, I shall take up for consideration the second question.

I think that it will be generally admitted that success in any field, whether it be that of science, social work, business, or manufacture, is predicated upon two conditions—the correct ascertainment of facts in the first place and the proper use of them in the second.

The inter-relation between the ascertainment and use depends upon the success with which these facts have been gathered, correlated and grouped, and unless this has been done properly with an eye to accuracy and availability, and with the idea of using them for a definite purpose, such statistics are of little if any real value.

One of the chief objections urged against the Federal Children's Bureau is that it will duplicate the work now done by the Census Bureau, an objection which, if true, would be of weight, as we are certainly all agreed that duplication of effort is by all means to be avoided in this present state of society where so much remains to be done, and the means at our disposal are so few and ineffective. But as a matter of fact there is not even a remote possibility of duplication, because unfortunately the statistics gathered by the Census Bureau are of practically no value for the purposes contemplated by the Federal Children's Bureau. They are gathered according to some theory of statistical method, which makes them of absolutely no value from the standpoint of changing and improving the conditions under which the children are at the present time being brought up.

If anyone, upon the publishing of the census report, were to go to a locality which, from the census report, he judged to be in a particular condition of development, he would feel like a modern Rip Van Winkle. He would come to the place expecting to find it as depicted in the census report, and he would find everything changed—customs, laws, methods of legislation—everything. Eight or nine years might have elapsed since the particular condition which he was looking for had been mirrored, and he would find that the thing that he was trying to do, the thing that he was trying to improve, did not exist in the form in which he had found it presented in that report.

As a matter of fact, the census report at the present time is a huge mass of inert statistical information, and to behold it one feels that there is a tremendous economic waste there, the sort of waste which would grieve a manufacturer if he thought that there was lying at hand a large amount of potential energy which by one more operation would be changed from an inert, useless mass to a powerful dynamic force, to something which would accomplish great ends; but that if he were not allowed to add that one operation, it would lie there unused and useless.

An example of the loss because of uncorrelated massing of statistics that I refer to, is the fact, for instance, that we find in the census report that out of the 579,000 illiterate children recorded in the United States, 500,000 were contained in thirteen states, the other 79,000 scattered over the remaining ones. There is a fact which seems fairly to bristle with meaning; it means everything, and yet what use is going to be made of that discovery unless there is some particular bureau which exists for the purpose of uncovering that fact and using it for the eradication of conditions of this kind.

By a proper grouping and a frequent publication of the facts that are gathered by the Children's Bureau, we shall, in the first place, obtain publicity. Now, when I say publication, I do not mean the publication as it is done at the present time with the Census Bureau statistics. They are indeed published to the extent that if somebody, being particularly interested in the subject, is prepared to give up a great deal of time and is willing to delve into a mass of figures which are recorded there, he can get out the fact that he is looking for.

The publication that I mean is the grouping of these figures, these dead figures, until they make a living mass, and then not to allow them to remain buried there, but send them forth—bring them home to every community that needs them. Do not do as you do at the present time, allow these people who want this information but who do not need it to get these figures, but rather take it to those people who do not want it, but who do need it; the people who do not feel the need of this kind of information are the ones to whom it should be brought home most strongly. Publicity will do more probably toward eliminating evils than legislation. Turn the light of publicity on these evils and they will disappear of themselves.

The further effect of these reports will be to inspire and invigorate those localities which most are in need of a quickening force. There are bound to be in a widespread country such as this a great many communities, which, by reason of their better facilities, their greater opportunities, are going to be considerably above the level of the average, and very much above the level of the least advanced sections. Now, to take these highest points, find out what is being done in the best communities and bring this information to the attention of the people who most need it—that will be doing publicity work of a kind that will count.

In so many cases, bad conditions, inhuman treatment if you will, exist not because of any particular brutality or cruelty on the part of the people who are at fault, but mainly because of inertia. Every business man in this audience will feel with me when I say that one of the hardest things to overcome in a business establishment, is the fact that if you want to change anything, no matter how small the improvement may be, you are met with the statement that it has been that way for twenty years, and there is no reason for changing it. I think that a number of the bad practices which exist in relation to children, exist, not because the people are brutal, not because they are more cruel than others, but merely that they have been calloused to seeing these conditions, and associating under such circumstances, and they do not appreciate the undesirability of what is being practiced there, until they have it brought home to them by contrast, by comparison.

I want for just a moment to touch upon the National Bureau of Education. Those people who feel that the prerogative of this department will be infringed upon by the proposed bureau mistake its purpose and its scope. The Bureau of Education needs information about the child which it does not get at present and the Children's Bureau will need educational information which the Bureau of Education can furnish, and so they will supplement each other and make the work of both departments more effective.

A Federal Children's Bureau will, of course, have far greater prestige and far greater authority than any state organization could have. The jealousy and suspicion between states which now so often prevent the less advanced from profiting by the experience of a more progressive sister state, would be absent. It will eliminate conditions that give rise to the remark that the United States is a

place where old failures are tried over again, only on a larger scale. It is very sad that such should be the case, because aside from the tremendous waste of money, there is a waste of time and a waste of progress which can never be made up. It is truly a pity that there should not be some central organization which can collect all the facts that have been learned by the experience in the past and use them for the benefit of the present and the future.

I think that no better investment of any kind can be made than the establishment of a Children's Bureau as a Federal Department at Washington.

IV. By Hon. Ben B. Lindsey,

Judge of the Juvenile Court of Denver, Col.

After an experience now going on nine years in the Juvenile Court of Denver, I feel naturally a particular and special interest in this bill. All of our people in Colorado interested in work for children especially feel that interest because eight years ago, as Mr. Walsh, the President of our society for the protection of children and animals, knows, an effort was made to get the House to pass a bill providing for a Bureau similar to this one, and it has been a matter of chagrin during that experience to receive letters from the officials of various governments of Europe, even from Japan, wanting to know where to apply to get certain facts, certain data, regarding the children of this country and the relation of childhood to crime, and not to be able to answer those gentlemen satisfactorily. I remember recently, when the children's bill in England, that great measure that has been discussed at this conference, was being considered, receiving a letter, I think from one of the under secretaries, to get certain facts, and it was simply impossible to provide the information that was needed and expected that this Government could furnish; and I, as a judge of one of the courts of this country dealing with children, felt very much embarrassed that we could not say that our Government was able to furnish such information.

We have found, in our efforts to help these 100,000 children that have been said to be dependent, that nothing is so important as facts. In my humble judgment—I may be wrong, and that is

just why we want a Bureau of this kind, in order that I may know and you may know whether I am right or wrong—in my judgment there are 100,000 children, dependent and delinquent, coming to the courts of this country every year, and within the period of sixteen years that means 1,600,000 children coming to the courts of this nation in every generation of childhood. Is this great Government of ours, with sufficient facts already gathered in this imperfect way to demonstrate that fact, going to neglect this opportunity of spreading the real information, of gathering together the real causes of this awful condition that affects the children of this country?

I was in a certain city recently, and I went to the chief of police and asked him how many children had been in jail that year. He said 100. When we investigated the records, we found there were 650 boys alone brought to the jail in that city of less than 150,000 people. I went into another city of less than 200,000 people, and when I asked the jailer how many boys had been in jail he said five or six hundred. When we investigated the records, we found there were 4000 arrests in that city among the boys alone under twenty years of age and over 2000 brought to the jail were under seventeen years of age.

If we had a Bureau of this kind it would stimulate the gathering of reliable statistics as it can not be stimulated or done in any other way. The head of a Bureau of this kind would send to the head of a city a blank to be filled out and kept, and it is going to stimulate the official who is to fill it out to keep records and return them to the Government. We have had some experience of this kind showing that this is done. Our State Board sent blanks to different judges, asking for information on this subject, and the information came; but it does not come in any other way. There must be some kind of stimulus, if you please, to officials to get this information together, and it is going to come through a Federal Children's Bureau, and in my judgment in no other way.

For instance, how many boys brought to jails in the cities of this country return within five years? In my own city, through private effort and investigation, we found sixty-two per cent. of all the boys brought to jails returned in five years for worse offenses. In Chicago, under the Commercial Club, about ten years ago, a similar investigation was made, and they found that seventy-five per cent.

returned in five years. What effect does the work have in preventing crime? Another thing, twenty per cent. of the boys in some cities of this country come to jails before they come of age. One out of every five mothers' sons comes to the jails in the cities of this country, according to some private investigations. Isn't that a fact, which this Government should know and be able to demonstrate?

In the nine years of work we have been forced into a certain position in this matter that has perhaps led us to see the necessity of this Bureau more than some other courts. We have, in my court alone, two stenographers furnished us by the county, who work from morning to night largely answering letters and furnishing information that has been gathered in this imperfect way not only in this nation, but in the world. Not less than 3,000 and, in my judgment, nearly 5,000 letters are sent out from there every year; and one of the embarrassing things that has made me ashamed almost of my country is that in answering letters to all the world I have to tell them constantly that these facts are not gathered by our Government, and they can not understand. Sentiment is not, perhaps, a justifiable argument for the establishment of such a Bureau, but it is nevertheless a proper one when it is a practical one. This Government can do no one thing that will be more worthy than to say to the nations of the world and all the cities of this Union asking for this important information about our dearest possession, the children, that we have a Bureau, and here we centralize and specialize and focus all these facts upon this important subject of the child; and however much the Bureau system may have been abused that is not any reason why a Bureau that is needed and necessary, as this for the children is, should not be established, and I do earnestly hope that the Congress will pass this bill.

V. By Henry B. Favill, M.D.,
Chicago.

It would be a very false conception of the problem which we have met to discuss if it were assumed that in purpose the forces which we try to overcome are directly antagonistic. I think it is safe to say that with very rare exception there is not an em-

ployer of children in mine, factory or sweatshop that would not prefer a different and better order of things.

Conditions of industrial life develop slowly and compactly, and it is as a final and at the moment inevitable phase that child labor bursts into its full enormity. So the employers of children find themselves confronted by a condition quite irrespective of individual preference; a condition so related on the one hand to industrial competition and cost of production, and on the other to labor competition and necessity to exist, that they move on with a fatalistic insensitiveness that puts them in the minds of many into a class of malefactors to whom are too readily ascribed the responsibility for the outrages which they more or less perpetrate. That they are terribly culpable is true in spite of extenuating circumstances, but that they are voluntarily initiating the system which we deplore is not at all true. What they do they do because they rest upon that ancient fallacy that business necessity is paramount to other social considerations.

They are not alone in this misconception. Thousands of right-minded, fairly intelligent men and women participate in the expression which has hardly the dignity of an opinion, that radical disturbance of the social order is bad. I speak slightingly as to so-called opinions on these matters because it is eternally true that no opinion is worthy the name which has not as its foundation a reasonable understanding of the facts and I assert without hesitation that the majority of those highly respectable conservatives who are satisfied to let things work out their own solution, are profoundly ignorant of the conditions which they condone. To the masses of citizens who are indisposed to move in these measures of reform are to be added still other masses, who, because of their notions of political economy, object to legislative regulation or to administrative control through governmental bureaus.

Without approaching the abstract argument upon this subject, those who have made this matter a deep and conscientious study, reach conclusions applying to the concrete facts with great definiteness. Absolute control of the health of the individual can never be the function of the state. Control of the conditions under which the lives of the people shall be lived and their energies expended is an inevitable necessity. The state will approach this problem from the standpoint of self-preservation. Defective health is the

foundation of crime, pauperism and degeneracy as well as that widespread inefficiency due to obvious disease.

All sociologic forces have come to recognize this fact. The physical well-being of the people is the deepest interest of the state. If the state is to undertake the establishment of conditions designed to safeguard health, it is imperative that the foundation of accurate knowledge upon which to base radical and comprehensive legislation be laid. The detail of such legislation is too remote to engage our attention here. What we must strive for is knowledge, and to this end, the interested forces demand a National Bureau of Health, the most valuable function of which shall be the culture of intelligence upon these subjects.

If this proposal shall become effective, it will appear to many that the end which we seek has been accomplished. That will not be true unless the interests which we represent be specifically defined. The medical profession has only within a few years come to realize that child health and adult health present distinctly different problems. Our literature upon the physical aspects of childhood is very recent and meager. Our scientists who have devoted themselves to child welfare are comparatively few; yet one glance at the broad proposition should be convincing. Consider the difference in the questions involved as to how an individual goes out of the world and how that individual comes into the world. Is it not obvious that with reference to determining the type of an individual and hence his value to society, the first few years are inexpressibly more important than all the rest? Let us go even further than that, and say that questions involved in the period before birth or conception, which are coming to be recognized as profound and crucial, are only to be interpreted in the light of the deepest knowledge of child life.

That there must be in this general pursuit of broad intelligence as to health problems, a specific and definite examination of the child problem, admits of no question. It seems best, therefore, that a distinct bureau in this broad movement should be secured. It is true, however, that there are questions of immediate importance which need not wait for this extensive investigation. Among these questions is child labor. As a definite factor in our social economy, the iniquity of its existence is enormous. There is inherent in it the same ethical stigma that there

is in slavery or polygamy or in any other widespread national moral obliquity. It ought not to exist and the intelligence and effort of all right-minded citizens should be committed to its extirpation.

There are questions, it is true, which are open to reasonable difference of opinion. What constitutes the proper age for labor; what are justifiable considerations in determining customs of labor, are appropriate studies for a health bureau. Those, however, are outlying territories. The plain unvarnished proposition, that children shall bear the industrial burden of this people cannot much longer be countenanced.

My privilege to address this meeting comes through my connection with the warfare upon tuberculosis. Could one come from a territory more deeply concerned with this issue? Where is found the safety of any individual against tuberculosis? In physique. Where is laid the foundation of physique? In childhood. Where bear the heaviest the burdens of bad hygiene? In childhood. Where concentrate most the direct forces of infection? In childhood. So far as tuberculosis is concerned, there is no hope for the race until the territory of childhood has been fortified. History should teach us to be without surprise that a great people can have gone on to such development with so little foresight.

Foresight is a rare combination of qualities. A joining of vision with judgment; an attribute of maturity; a power by no means universally vouchsafed to men. Myriads of people see the menace of an iniquity, and fainthearted turn aside with a feeling of impotence. Recognition of the difficulty without conviction as to the moral obligation which it implies accomplishes nothing. Under the guise of conservatism masquerade indifference, timidity and self-interest. True conservatism is concerned only with genuine progress, hesitates only at mistakes; may be wisely quiescent, but never supine. It is curious that foresight and conservatism having so much purpose in common should be, in fact, so divergent through the major part of their respective paths.

In social development the struggle is always between those who have vision and those who have caution. In this alignment, the forces of caution under the conception of prudence receive very exaggerated recognition and support. Those who have vision and imagination command undue criticism and discredit. The time has

come to act in behalf of the child, and those who see must dominate those who fear to move, and to this end all sympathetic forces must be combined. That there should be any difference of opinion as to the imperative need of properly rearing and protecting the children of the nation is unthinkable. In fact there is no such difference of opinion. The thought of those who think at all is unanimous upon this subject. The problem is how to combine the insight of those whose sympathy has reached the root of the matter with the effectiveness of those who have the courage and ability to deal with it. These forces can only be combined under conditions which satisfy both. There must be a broad and evolved policy of correction and protection. There must be a convincing mass of accurate information. So far as appears, nothing offers to satisfy these requirements but a National Bureau devoted to the welfare of the Nation as represented in the growing child. We hesitate not at all in adding our influence to the movement in that direction.

VI. By Professor Charles R. Henderson,
University of Chicago.

1. There are already several important national organizations charged with the watch care of public health interests in this country; among these is The American Health League, established as a committee of the American Association for the Advancement of Science. This league aims to promote unification of Federal action in relation to the health of the people of the land, and to forward local interest in matters of sanitation and hygiene. It is a laymen's movement, inspired by a scientific spirit. The American Medical Association, with its special section on Public Health, lends its high authority to a movement of trained medical experts. The American Public Health Society is also under the direction of specially trained medical men. The Public Health and Marine Hospital Service is at once official and expert, with a remarkable history of guarding the quarantine ports and fighting fever during the past century. All of these associations center their attention upon the physical interests of all classes and all age groups throughout the nation.

2. The Bureau of Education is already a " Children's Bureau " in the sense that it aims to publish the results of scientific study of children, and seeks to promote the knowledge of child nature and the best methods of education and organization of schools. All friends of children should strive to support the efforts of this Bureau, at whose head we have had distinguished men, and under its present administration it continues to deserve the respect and warmest support of the nation.

3. And now we have the National Child Labor Committee, which aims to promote the physical and moral interests of the working child and to secure for it suitable education. Therefore we are here interested in each of these agencies, since they are all working for the same end from a different starting point, and by various means, and they all have their claims upon our moral co-operation.

4. The specific call of this meeting and this hour is for the establishment of a " Children's Bureau " in the Federal administration. From the standpoint of those who are asking concentration and coordination of public health activities at Washington, this is a reasonable effort. A Bureau which aims to promote all the interests of childhood would, of course, include care for their physical well-being.

VII. By Mrs. Florence Kelley.

New York.

I have been deeply impressed with the meagreness of our knowledge of what is to-day being done for the children, after all these years of effort. For instance, in the southern states there has been much patient agitation, much constant effort to get statutes on the statute books. We know that in Louisiana there is an exceedingly energetic factory inspector and in the neighboring state of Mississippi there is no enforcement, no official whose duty it is to give us information. In the other neighboring state of Alabama an unfortunate official was appointed with the three-fold duty of inspecting jails, insane asylums and cotton mills. He did not do it very long, he committed suicide. I have learned since I came here of the current appointment of his successor.

In North Carolina there is a Commissioner of Labor. There are no truant officers, no factory inspectors, and the Commissioner of Labor has no right of entry into any factory. Wherever he enters it is as the guest of some friend. He has no *right* of entry.

In our own state of New York we have an admirably organized factory inspection bureau. Every day the inspector finds from two to twenty children working illegally in Greater New York. That is after we have had a child labor law and factory inspection for twenty years. In the city of New York the bureau of inspection sends us every day a list of the children found illegally at work the day before, a duplicate of the list is sent to the Department of Education, in order that the children may be returned to school. They must be either legally at work or in school until they are sixteen years old. Hitherto a subordinate clerk in the Department of Education seems to have put that list into the waste basket. When, this fall, we inquired of the head of the truancy department what his method was for using that check list, he seemed entirely unaware that it had ever been sent to his department or that such a check list existed.

In the city of New York we have eighty-three salaried truant officers. Every time the State Department of Labor finds a child illegally at work who has never had working papers, it thereby shows that some school official has let that child go illegally from school (assuming that the child had ever been in school). This fall one young college graduate undertook the task of following up children whom the factory inspectors' reports day by day showed to be illegally at work, to learn why it was that eighty-three city truant officers let from two to twenty children be found illegally at work every day.

Some interesting things transpired. One was that not very long ago one of the eighty-three truant officers had been regularly drawing his salary while serving also as interne in a hospital. I do not know anyone except a convict serving a term in a penitentiary who would be less able to get children into school than an interne in a hospital. Other truant officers were found who appeared to be turning a dishonest penny, not by getting children into school but by escorting the children and their parents to the office of the Department of Health to facilitate their getting working papers to get out of school.

We have had compulsory education for twenty years just as we have had factory inspection, but we have never had any official whose duty it was to know the daily methods of the truant officers.

It is nobody's sole duty to inspect the truant officers. But one young volunteer in a few months showed that if those officers have to report in writing every day what they do with their time, and if those reports were public documents which we could all look at as we can look at the factory inspectors' reports, we may get the same sort of efficiency on the part of our school authorities that we have already to an admirable degree on the part of the Department of Labor in its bureau of factory inspection.

We asked how often the truant officers report to the head of the department and found that some of them report once a week,—not directly to him but to the district superintendent,—and by the time the information reaches the center, instead of being twenty-four hours old as in the case of the factory inspectors, it may be thirty-four days old and the child may have moved and may be lost forever to the schools.

We wrote to the Commissioner of Education at Washington asking for a standard daily report blank. That was about three months ago. We have received no letter in reply; we have received four pamphlets of irrelevant information but no reference whatever to a daily truant officer's report. We wrote to several heads of truancy departments in different states. The head of the truancy department in our own state wrote after long delay that he had never seen a blank for a daily report for truant officers, but he had no doubt that if we wrote to every city in the State we might find one.

Now, that is the sort of chaotic lack of knowledge and lack of standard of work which we want the proposed federal bureau in the interest of children to deal with. It ought not to be necessary to write to every city in the United States with the hope that ultimately one may find a truant officer's daily report blank. We have no authoritative list of persons responsible for keeping non-working children in the schools and no authoritative list of all the persons responsible for the inspection of factories in this nation.

We have sadly little authoritative knowledge with regard to the children who work in any state. I believe that in New York we come a little nearer to having up-to-date knowledge than anywhere

else, because once a month the Department of Labor prints a list of the convictions obtained during that month for violation of the child labor law.

We need to know about the prosecutions, because there are always sinister charges that it is only petty offenders, little people who cannot retaliate by insisting on the removal of the too efficient inspectors, who are prosecuted. That is a cruel charge and if it is not true it ought never to be made. It is only by giving us full publicity which in most states we do not get that that charge can be silenced.

Finally we want to know what our children know when they leave school. In many states they need not go to school at all. In some southern states thousands do not go at all. In many other states they have to go until they have reached a certain nominal age and then they may leave school whether they know anything or not. Even here, in Illinois, it is only necessary for a Syrian child to say that it can read and write in Syrian, or a Russian child to say that it can read and write in Yiddish. If it has not attended a public school it is not required to read and write in the language of the people among whom it is going to live all its life.

We want objective tests and one centralized bureau to standardize those tests instead of the chaotic condition in which we are to-day.

VIII. By Samuel McCune Lindsay, Ph.D.,

Professor Social Legislation, Columbia University; Vice-Chairman, National Child Labor Committee.

Why do we who are associated in this child labor movement, want to see a Federal Children's Bureau? Our reasons are set forth in the section which outlines the compass of the Bureau itself, section two of the bill which is now re-introduced in Congress and is still pending in the House and the Senate. It reads:

"The said Bureau shall investigate and report upon all matters pertaining to the welfare of children and child life, and shall especially investigate the questions of infant mortality, the birth rate, physical degeneracy, orphanage, juvenile delinquency and juvenile

courts, desertion and illegitimacy, dangerous occupations, accidents and diseases of children of the working classes, employment, legislation affecting children in the several states and territories, and such other facts as have a bearing upon the health, efficiency, character and training of children."

That is a pretty comprehensive program. The reason why we want so comprehensive a program enacted into law is in order that somewhere there may be a co-ordination of the various lines of activity that are now being put forth on behalf of childhood. We feel that the child labor movement alone is a one-sided movement; that it must be brought into direct relation to the efforts and the work that is being done in so many other departments of activity for the benefit of children if it is to reach the greatest possible efficiency.

The watchwords, or keynotes, of this program for a Children's Bureau are the following: Investigation, information, interpretation of facts. This investigation, this collection of information, this interpretation, must be scientific, must be impartial, must be thorough. As a private organization supported by voluntary contributions, we have had to carry on investigation, to gather information, to interpret the facts that we have found in connection with child labor; but at best the information we gather is always open to the suspicion that it is the information gathered by interested parties. They tell us we are looking for child labor, we are looking for the evils of child labor. We are not interpreting these facts with that absolute impartiality and scientific attitude of mind that is necessary in order to carry authority with it.

I will not stop to argue that question. The records of this Committee are printed in several volumes. The results of our field investigations are subject to the examination and criticism of the world at large, and I am perfectly satisfied for one to stand on our platform and to submit that that investigation has been thorough and impartial and fair, and has gone as far as the means and resources at our command would allow. But I submit this further question to you, and to the public at large: Is it fair that a private society like the National Child Labor Committee should have placed upon it the burden of the expenditure of nearly $100,000 which we have expended in the five years of our organization—is it fair that the burden should be placed upon us to gather this information

when it is clearly a duty of the Government to furnish information for its citizens? Is it not fair that such efforts as are being put forth by private committees like this Committee, like all the other agencies that are working for social betterment, shall have their resources to use for carrying out their program? There is no other Government in the civilized world that does not furnish more information on these subjects upon demand than the Government of the United States. It is absolutely impossible to verify with any degree of certainty the various statements that are made here by these speakers with respect to so simple a matter as the number of children of a particular age at work. We could spend the entire time of this conference in controversy over the question of whether there are 1,750,000 or 2,000,000 children under sixteen years of age at work, because the figures of the United States census are not conclusive upon that subject; because such data as we have in the census have not been worked up by any body of experts, whose chief business it is to correlate, verify, amplify and interpret such information as we already have at hand.

I think it was pointed out in several of the speeches last night that the significant thing to be expected of such a Bureau would be exactly what has happened in every other country that has gathered the statistics that we want; that with investigation and with information collected we are bound to develop a better policy with respect to childhood. We have developed here in the last few years a corporation policy in our Government which is now pretty well understood by our politicians and statesmen, by the organs of public opinion in all quarters, and why? Very largely, as a direct result of the organization and establishment of the Department of Commerce and Labor and of the Bureau of Corporations in that department, a Bureau that has made it its business to co-ordinate all the information that the Government possesses on the subject of corporations, and to go out gathering facts with respect to our great industrial corporations.

As a result of the gathering of that information there has necessarily grown up a government policy based upon the idea of publicity in corporate business.

I do not believe, for one, that our program is going to make very great progress,—our program for the restriction of child labor in certain sections where it is most needed—if we rely merely upon

the compulsion of law. That will always bring opposition, it will always create opposition and resistance, but we can rely upon the compulsion of publicity, and I think one of the very best signs of the times is a growing sensitiveness in those sections of the country through which our good friend Doctor McKelway travels so frequently, to the conditions of life brought out by the facts with respect to child labor. Once let those facts be put out in a manner that is beyond the suspicion of any interested motives, once let them be brought forward with the authority of government investigation back of them, the facts that we positively know are true with respect to child labor, and nine-tenths of the battle against child labor will be won.

I think that in this national conference there has been no more significant result to be observed than the coming together of people of many diverse opinions and representing widely divergent interests and geographical areas, in hearty favor of a Federal Children's Bureau. I have watched the different speakers coming from different states, from different surroundings, representing different ideas, even with respect to this one topic which has brought us together, and I find how they have all come around to one point as we face the problem, as we go further into the work that we have set ourselves to do, that we have increasingly a common need for information, and we feel increasingly our own helplessness as a private society with any resources that this organization can command to get that necessary information, and we feel that this is a paramount duty of our Federal Government.

I, for one, have been an ardent advocate of federal legislation, and I am still an ardent advocate of federal legislation as a necessary part of a really effective legislative remedy for the evils of child labor. All my colleagues do not agree with me on this subject. Personally I do not think that we will get at the heart of the forces that defeat in operation so much of our state legislation on this subject until we have that uniformity that can come only through some sort of supplementary federal legislation. But I am perfectly willing to hold that as an individual view and to tolerate a wide divergence of views on the part of others who do not think as I do on that subject.

I am very sure that however we may disagree as to the wisdom or as to the constitutionality, if you please, of our Federal Govern-

ment passing a law directly or indirectly to regulate child labor, we can have no doubt and I have yet to hear a single expression of doubt from any quarter as to the wisdom, as to the propriety, and as to the constitutionality of the Federal Government collecting information and disseminating an intelligent interpretation of it to aid and support those efforts which the citizens of this great and rich nation are willing to put forth on behalf of its children. The resources of private philanthropy and private charity are spent generously for the benefit of the children of the nation. Let us hasten the day when the nation shall do its full part in this matter, perhaps the only part it can do, by spreading abroad an educational influence with respect to this subject that will make child labor an impossibility throughout the length and breadth of our land.

SOME UNSETTLED QUESTIONS ABOUT CHILD LABOR

By Owen R. Lovejoy,
General Secretary, National Child Labor Committee, New York City.

The four years of study and legislative work conducted by the National Child Labor Committee should give us a basis in experience for a clear definition of the problem of child labor in America. The complicated nature of the work was probably understood from the first by those actively interested in the formation of the Committee, but it was not understood by the public in general. Nor is there to-day any general consensus on many of the essential features of its solution.

There is a widespread idea that the evil briefly called "child labor" is an iniquitous system existing as an integer and perpetuated solely by the cruelty and greed of the slave-driving employer. To correct this error is a first duty. The effort to abolish the evils of child labor is complicated by the wide variety of industries in which children engage; by the marked contrasts in opportunity in different sections of the country; by the influx of alien races bringing their traditions and customs wholly foreign to the ideals of democracy; and by the inequalities in legislative restriction which render enforcement almost impossible, so long as our fifty commonwealths adhere to as many different laws on the subject.

It has been the aim in planning the discussions at this Conference to record the points on which essential agreement has been reached and to give special consideration to that horde of difficult questions that remain unanswered. We are to tell each other what points have been reached. We must bring to each other the questions we cannot answer. If any general principles have been fully established, all citizens should have the benefit of the experience of those who solved them. If it is discovered that at any point we have turned in an unwise direction, that error should be pointed out clearly, and our whole train of activities should be set on the right track.

It is the purpose of this paper to review a few of the typical questions that have not been solved, as an introduction to the discussions that are to follow. Perhaps the questions requiring

most immediate attention may be divided for convenience as follows:—

(1) What classes of children should be entirely eliminated as a factor in the industrial problem?

(2) From what industries should all children be eliminated?

(3) What regulations should govern the conditions of the children who may wisely be employed?

(4) What is to be done with those excluded from industry?

I. *What Children to be Eliminated*

Obviously there is a period in the life of the child which, both for the good of the child and for the good of society, must be kept free from exacting toil or burdensome responsibility. How shall the end of that period be marked? The method thus far applied has been through the establishment of a minimum age limit. That age limit has advanced steadily from eight and nine years until to-day it is generally agreed that, in this country, no child under fourteen years can wisely be subjected to wage-earning labor.

Not that all our states have advanced to this standard, for South Carolina, Alabama, Maryland, Florida, Georgia, Mississippi, Texas, and West Virginia permit children of twelve years to be legally employed, and North Carolina fixes thirteen years as the limit. Furthermore, in a number of these states if a child is poor or otherwise handicapped he is turned at even an earlier age to the hard battle for life. But the interested citizens in those parts of the country make an apology for permitting this early exploitation of the child, and are seeking to raise their commonwealths to the higher standard. This fourteen-year limit, however, does not express the standard agreed upon. Beyond this the prevailing demand requires that the fourteen-year-old child shall meet certain educational and physical tests before being subjected to industrial competition. In Colorado, Michigan, Nebraska, Vermont, and Wisconsin he must pass at least the eighth grade before being released under sixteen from school, and in New Jersey he must pass all the grammar grades, and his fifteenth birthday before he can be excused from school. In New York, Ohio and Montana he is required to pass the eighth grade.

In a number of states efforts are being made to add careful physical tests, to be made frequently during the school course and upon entering industry. Especial emphasis is at present being put on the

physical qualifications of the working child. Manifestly the underdeveloped child, the child lacking in sight, hearing, lung development, muscular growth, bone formation, or heart action should not be abandoned by the state to the rigors of an industrial life merely because he has reached the age of fourteen years. There are those who take the position that the age test should be abandoned and there should be substituted educational and physical qualifications. One of the papers at this Conference will seek to show the possibilities of making anatomical and physiological tests, by which the development of the child can be gauged with scientific accuracy, and thus the actual physical age be recorded. The difficulty of applying this method in small communities and in parts of the country devoid of skillful medical practitioners will at once appear. It would seem that the medical professon should everywhere be counted on to give the child that meed of protection which is due. Yet it is notorious that in many cities the local boards of health perform in a merely perfunctory manner, or entirely neglect to perform their duties in relation to the certification of children seeking employment.

Despite these objections we welcome this proffered aid to the solution of one of the most perplexing phases in this problem. And we believe the movement among physicians marks the beginning of a more rational and scientific treatment of the whole subject. Such tests would, from the outset, have immense educational value. Let the people be convinced that the child is not a little man or woman; but a being in the process of physical formation—with features of that development so delicate that no less caution is required at the age of ten or twelve years than was required in infancy—and a speedy end will be reached of all the popular fallacies about the benefits of hard and exacting labor in the training of the little child. Such tests as are foretokened in these experiments present an encouraging prospect. Meanwhile there will be a period of experimentation and civil war among the experts. During the period if we must continue to "fumble" we must insist that, while we work by confessedly unscientific methods, the child shall be given the benefit of the doubt.

For the encouragement of those who have fought to establish the laws that now protect the children in many states it may be noted that thus far the findings of the physicians and anatomists

tend to justify the rough line of demarcation that has been drawn at fourteen years and to urge the adoption of still higher restrictions. Upon this point, then, we are clear in our duty to attack every part of the country which compels younger children to be wage earners.

At a recent child-labor conference in Connecticut a leading manufacturer of New England frankly proposed a sixteen-year limit for all children in wage-earning industries. This gratifying proposition is meeting with popular favor. The Governor of Connecticut has advocated this in his message to the legislature, and a bill may be presented to thus amend the law. Such a step in Connecticut would provide a new basis for legislation in other states.

II. *From What Industries Should All Children Be Excluded*

Upon this question there is a ground of general agreement with a wide margin of doubt. We may agree that all mines and quarries; all mills in which, as yet, no successful method of guarding dangerous machinery has been applied; all factories in which dangerous acids, chemicals, or high explosives are used should be positively shut against the child. But just what are the kinds of industry referred to? In a few states a partial list of industries regarded as dangerous has been made, but nowhere, we believe, with completeness. Neither can there be until every state shall establish, as New York has this year done, a sanitary department of factory inspection and shall have that department so perfectly equipped that a report may be made to the state of all forms of industry that offer menace to life, limb, or health and in which the measure of risk in each may be tabulated upon their record or if they have no record, upon their reputation elsewhere.

Such inspection will doubtless add to the list of hazardous employments, many now looked upon as safe places for working children. They will note the special aptitude of the little child to get into danger or harm in places that are entirely safe for the adult—from the mere fact of immature judgment, recklessness and curiosity.

The labor required about a coal mine is obviously dangerous, and we are not surprised to learn from the last available statistics upon this point from the anthracite mines of Pennsylvania that among the slate pickers the ratio of accidents to boys sixteen

and under is 300 per cent. higher than to the men and boys above sixteen in that branch of the industry.

Ordinary industries of our states are not, as a whole, exceptionally dangerous. Yet the report of the Factory Inspector of Indiana for 1907 shows 400 per cent. of accidents to children as compared with the adults, and the report from Michigan in 1907 shows 450 per cent. of hazard to children—in proportion to the number employed. What is the record of the whole country? Are children being sacrificed by industry twice as rapidly, or three times, or four times, or eleven times, or what is the percentage of risk to the working child? And what are the industries in which these accidents most frequently occur? We believe no state wants to mangle or kill its little children in industry. We sin in ignorance. But we have no right longer to be ignorant. Our industries are well enough developed and cause and effect are sufficiently well known to make ignorance inexcusable; and we spend enough money in public administration on far less important matters to leave no excuse for neglecting this safeguard to the public health.

Such a Federal Children's Bureau as we are urging would have, as an essential part of its field of labor, to discover and compile for public information, all the facts that can be gleaned from the whole country bearing on industrial accidents to children. A few well-compiled reports, we venture to predict, would put an end to the discussion. For the present, however, in default of any more complete basis of agreement, we may reasonably urge that, if fourteen years is to be made the minimum age for general employment, sixteen years shall be laid as the minimum for employment in all industries that are known to be dangerous in the ordinary sense, and eighteen years in the extra-hazardous occupations. This higher age limit should also, of course, apply to all industries in which there is a menace to the moral life.

III. *Regulations Governing Employment of Children and Youth*

Assuming that many children on reaching the age of fourteen years, or its equivalent in mental and physical development, may be employed, also that, for those employed there are certain industries which are not excluded as being extra hazardous or dangerous, we have to consider regulations governing the work of children

between fourteen years and maturity who are employed in occupations that are not dangerous. Shall we consent that, because the child and the industry meet certain tests, all protective care on the part of the state shall be removed? Shall it be lawful for a boy who could not be employed legally last week to enter a factory or workshop for an unlimited number of hours, day or night, simply because he has attained a given birthday?

On some of these questions we ought soon to arrive at a fair consensus of opinion. We may differ as to whether the opening and closing hours in a factory should be five, six, seven, or eight o'clock, but there should no longer be any doubt as to whether a young boy or girl, just passed the age of fourteen, may work a ten-hour day as in New Jersey and Indiana and all the New England states, or eleven hours as in Alabama, or twelve hours as in North Carolina, Pennsylvania and Georgia, or an unlimited period as in West Virginia, Kansas, Oklahoma, Wyoming, and Nevada.

Here is a plain question on which neither the interests of the industry, the poverty of the family, nor any other motive should lead us to compromise. No child can study for a ten-hour day without serious injury; nor play for ten hours or more without harm. How much less reasonable to suppose that a child of tender years and with bones but partly formed and muscles undeveloped may be put to the single task of earning profits for its employer, or bread for its progenitors, for a ten or eleven or twelve hour day, without suffering an injury for which society must pay heavily in the future!

It is gratifying to record that already Ohio, Illinois, Nebraska, New York, and Colorado have fixed an eight-hour day for children under sixteen years (the law in New York applying to factories, with a nine-hour day in mercantile establishments, and Ohio extending the eight-hour protection in the case of girls to eighteen years). No evidence is on record, either from the reports of the Factory Inspectors, the School authorities, the compilers of labor and industrial statistics, or from the operators of the industries affected or the families of the children concerned, to show that any serious interruption to business has been suffered, or that poverty and family dependence have increased. On the other hand, these reports, official and unofficial, tend to show that some industries have adopted the eight-hour schedule, while others have been en-

couraged to advance to higher levels, because of the elimination of those who could not profitably be employed for a shorter period than the normal working day, and the consequent substitution of older and more competent employees. As to the families affected, the reports from state and local committees to be presented at this conference will show that the dread of causing sick fathers and widowed mothers to starve because little children are forbidden to be crushed under excessive industrial burdens is a needless dread. Poverty has rather tended to decrease and family standards have tended to advance toward the line of self-support as a result of these humane measures.

In the light of this experience shall we not agree that we have a plain duty to press upon the people of the states adjoining those mentioned, namely: Indiana, Michigan, Wisconsin, Iowa, New Jersey, Pennsylvania and Connecticut, as well as a number of the younger western states—the need of throwing this special form of protection about those who are on the border line between childhood and youth. Shall we not urge them to establish an eight-hour day for all children under sixteen years in all wage-earning employments?

The necessity of gradual approach to this reasonable standard is recognized, therefore we shall count it a gain, if in Pennsylvania this year a ten-hour day can be secured for children of fourteen or if in North Carolina the hours per week can be reduced from sixty-six to sixty.

Night Work

The same conclusions are potent as against all industrial employment at night. It may be granted that certain forms of industry can be carried on more profitably when operated day and night and that no legislation should be enacted which will cripple them in their night operations. But when the welfare of a child or youth of eleven or thirteen or fifteen years is involved, argument should be at an end. If the child cannot find a place in the industry without being subjected to the obvious injuries of night work, then let him be excluded altogether.

The chief opposition to such restriction will continue to come from those engaged in the glass manufacturing industry. Night work of children is practiced in other industries, especially in certain

textile industries, but not as a recognized essential feature of the industry. No cotton mill or silk mill has proclaimed its inability to exist without the systematic employment of little children at night. Yet the glass industry, a branch of manufacturing that has made as great progress as any other in this country in the past quarter-century, under the influence of an exceedingly high protective tariff, stoutly claims that the prohibition of night employment of little boys will be its ruin. The cry usually takes the form of a threat to move the factories to some other state.

Three states in which glass is extensively produced have enacted laws forbidding the night employment of children under sixteen years. These are New York, Ohio and Illinois. These states stand, according to the Census report of 1905, as fourth, fifth and seventh in the scale of glass-producing states.

To determine whether these restrictive laws appear to have injured the industry we refer to the record of its growth since their enactment, and compare it with the growth in states not affording children this protection. The table of comparison given with New York, Ohio and Illinois, on the one hand, and Indiana, New Jersey and Pennsylvania, on the other, presents a valid reply to those who contend that such child-labor laws will ruin the trade.

GROWTH OF THE GLASS INDUSTRY IN FIVE YEARS (1900-1905)

	Increase	Factories	Capital	Wage Earners	Value of output
These States *Prohibit* Child Labor at night	Illinois	116. %	63. %	44. %	98.8%
	New York	3.9%	54. %	23.3%	55.2%
	Ohio	32.1%	69. %	72.5%	98.5%
These States *Permit* Child Labor at night	Indiana	[1]10.2%	8.6%	[1]7.5%	3.4%
	New Jersey	15. %	16. %	2.3%	26.8%
	Pennsylvania	2.5%	43.5%	7. %	25.7%

This comparison is not presented here for the purpose of showing that child-labor laws promote the industry, although they appear to afford such evidence. There are other far more important factors

[1] Decrease

determining the progress of this industry than the question of the age or hours of boys who are employed. The cost of fuel, the accessibility to some of the chief constituents in the composition of glass, and good markets are factors far more important, and are those on which an equality of opportunity for different sections of the country can never be realized.

The chief glass-producing states which at present permit the employment of children under sixteen years at night are New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Indiana, West Virginia, Maryland, Missouri and Kansas. In Indiana, West Virginia, Pennsylvania and New Jersey bills are before the legislatures this winter forbidding such employment. Were it possible to combine the forces working for such legislation in these four states, we believe the glass manufacturers would be less opposed and might consider favorably such simultaneous action.

Vacation Permits

Among the specific questions that are to receive consideration here is the question: "What shall be done in the case of school children who apply for permits to work during the long vacations?" On this matter there is the greatest confusion of opinions and programs. In the discussion, which we hope will bring about a degree of harmony in action, we suggest that in the case of vacation permits the injury to the child is not so much from the work he does, although too little attention has been given to the right of the child to a period of relaxation from the overwork often required in our schools, but what makes the summer work a menace to the child's development is the difference between what he does in the summer and what he will have to do in school in the fall. The proverbial reluctance among working children to return to school ought to be a clear suggestion to our communities as to what the school should be. The fact that people are now so perplexed about what to do with the children prevented from work either in vacation or at all times constitutes the strongest possible argument for co-operation with the National Education Association and those associations formed to promote practical education, to the end that a constructive program shall be worked out without delay.

Street Trades

The various street trades and work in city tenements are forms of child employment sorely in need of study and regulation. The physical difficulty in regulating the hours and conditions of employment in street trades is greater than in the case of factories and mines. It is further complicated by the traditions which teach that the little newsboy or messenger of eight or ten years is the only support of his widowed mother, and furthermore, that the little man is on the straight road to the White House or the presidency of some billion dollar trust. We stupidly adhere to these delusions, overlooking the sacrifice of health, education and character, which in the overwhelming majority of instances are suffered by infant newsboys and night messengers, while we have kept the mind fixed on the few notable men who rose to eminence from a childhood in these nomadic pursuits.

Sweatshops

In the matter of tenement-house employment the question of regulation is further complicated by the tradition of parental ownership. We are asked, "How dare the state invade the sacred inclosure of a man's own home and deny his right to the help of his own children, who work under the home roof?" The question sounds conclusive, but it is wholly specious. Its answer is in two parts. In the first place, the place invaded is not a "sacred inclosure." The tenement house workshops in our great cities are not under home roofs, but in crowded blocks of congested humanity, where hundreds of our nation's little children are burning out their eyes at night as they work in the dim gas light on some monotonous task which develops neither mind nor body. For this labor the only rewards are shamefully inadequate wages, bent and diseased spines, stooped shoulders, contracted lungs—the culture beds of deadly germs, and the other natural fruits of wrong physical environment. In the second place, the child is not a parental asset. The state is bound by the law of self-preservation to deny a father or mother the privilege of exacting from his own child what would be regarded as cruel or injurious if exacted from another's child. If the parent, either through poverty, vice or ignorance is unable to provide the care and protection needed, then the state is bound to enter and become the parent of that child.

Farm Labor

A kind of child labor which has received too little attention in this country is to be discussed at this conference. It has generally been assumed that if children work on the farm there can be no objection to their employment. Indeed, one of the most prominent critics of the work of this committee in questioning our representations as to the extent of child labor in America with one sweep brushed aside all the children working on farms as wholly beyond the need of attention.

Naturally the factory and mine have received the first attention, for there the children are congregated, and if evils exist they are more apparent. But disturbing reports are coming to us from many parts of the country, testifying to the neglect or the abuse of childhood in the rural districts. We learn of the twelve-hour workday in the berry fields of New Jersey; of the congestion, overwork, and immorality in the vegetable gardens of Delaware and Maryland, where the pickers' shanty repeats the unhealthy evils of the city tenement; of the beet-sugar fields of Michigan, Nebraska and Colorado, and the tobacco fields and stripping barns in Connecticut, Kentucky, Virginia and Pennsylvania.

Reports reach us from many parts of the country which produce tobacco in large quantities that not only are the children kept from school during the harvesting season, but that through the winter, whenever the weather is favorable for stripping tobacco, they are kept from school one, two and three days a week, and thus their education is interrupted and the whole school system demoralized.

In the fruit-canning sections of New York state, eighteen months ago, a thorough investigation of child labor was made, which revealed such abuse of little children that the canners hiding behind a technicality in the agreement with those directing the investigation insisted that they suppress the publication of the report, lest its publication ruin the industry. Canners in the states not investigated would, it was claimed, use this report against their New York competitors, although the same abuses are believed to exist in nearly every section of the country where canning is extensive.

IV. *Constructive Measures*

But manifestly legislation that eliminates the child or the industry is not enough. There is the constructive side. As to the industry, perhaps we need not concern ourselves. It is enough to know that no necessary form of industry has ever been permanently crippled by excluding the children from it. Inventive genius has always come to the rescue of the industry and has found a way to apply better methods or better machinery, which in the end has put the industry on a higher plane and rendered better service than the child had ever done.

At a time when all over the country so large an army of unemployed men exists as a burden upon the charitable agencies of our communities and as a menace to individual virtue and the foundations of the home, there can certainly be no justification for the contention that manufacturing industries would be crippled by the elimination of young children. Indeed, there is a double motive for the release of young children from industry. Not only are the children benefited by having a substantial addition made to their period of preparation for the obligations of maturity, but the normal demands of our industries would inevitably draw into service large numbers of able-bodied men who are now idle.

But the problem of what to do with the child is less simple. The question arises as soon as a child is thrown out of employment by a new law, "What are you going to do with him?" And no one seems to know. At least there is no agreement upon the point. A mother in Washington a few days ago charged the child-labor law of the District of Columbia with making her son a forger. The newspaper story does not bear the marks of authenticity, but it serves to illustrate the feeling of a large number of people throughout the country. The point of view of those who would leave all children to work indefinitely until society has fully prepared to take care of them, loses some of its force when it is remembered that the same opposition to the law is found in Ohio, where boys under sixteen and girls under eighteen have been thrown out of employments which could not use them on an eight-hour day, and in Alabama and Arkansas, where children of eleven years are thrown out because they were not fortunate enough to have a widowed mother or a crippled father.

None the less, the question is a vital one, and calls for careful study. It is easy to say, "Give the child a practical education and thus fit him for a useful industrial life." But where? In many states the only place a child can get a practical education is in a reform school.

In default of such opportunity for a practical education the schools are yearly leaking a large percentage of those who enter the early grades. Less than thirteen per cent. of all enrolled pupils were reported as above the fifth grade in the last United States Educational Report. It is obvious that those who leave school at ages varying from eight to thirteen years of age are wholly unprepared for the industrial battle of life. Even children who remain in school to the end of the compulsory period in some of the more advanced states are totally unfit to enter industry. The following sentences from the unpublished manuscript of the forthcoming report of the New Jersey Commission on Industrial Education are significant: "Fully ninety-five per cent of the pupils leave school between the ages of fourteen and seventeen, and without having formed any idea as to what trade or vocation they should follow; in consequence they drift into occupations rather than select those which might be most nearly suited to their aptitudes, and their progress is generally arrested at an early age, because of the restricted character of their experience and the failure to receive supplementary instruction."

Much interest attaches to the experiments that are being tried in a number of communities, in making a closer alliance between the school and the manufacturing and commercial enterprises. It is argued that by such an arrangement children may have an introduction to the practical phases of industrial life without interfering with their school work. In our discussion of this project we should not overlook the necessity of a radical revision in the school curriculum. The demands for book learning in many of our city schools at present lay upon the pupils a burden of home work, which not only robs childhood of its rightful recreation, but is a menace to the health and a chief motive in the child to end the school career. It would be necessary also radically to change the processes in the industries under consideration if they are to have any value for the child. If he is to be placed in a factory to do the monotonous tasks now required of the unskilled workers, he might, it is true,

earlier become self-supporting, but his industrial efficiency would be thwarted rather than promoted.

The proper equipment for industrial education in the schools of our country would, in relation to this problem of Child Labor, accomplish two very desirable results:

(1) A far larger percentage of pupils would remain in school to or beyond the termination of the compulsory period, thus vastly simplifying the work of factory inspectors and truant officers. It is well enough to talk of the error of catering to the whim of the child, nevertheless, until the American school house becomes a place to be sought by the children of our communities, instead of shunned, we shall continue to witness the suicide of the higher school grades, the sacrifice of children in our factories and mines, or their almost equally disastrous exposure to the perils of idleness.

(2) We should be able, as we are not at present, to place the young child improperly equipped, in an environment certain to meet his immediate need of training and certain to produce for his family the material rewards which were their chief motive in having him employed.

We are fortunate in having at this Conference a paper by Dr. Draper, who has led the campaign in New York state for such a revision of the public school program, and the results of these discussions may reasonably be expected to clear up many difficult points, and indicate how such a committee can best co-operate with the Association for the Promotion of Industrial Education, the newly organized National League for Industrial Education, and other forces working for an adaptation of educational methods to the needs of an industrial civilization.

Our four-fold duty, therefore, seems clear:—(1) To exclude all young children and all undeveloped children from the burdens of wage-earning industries; (2) to forbid the employment of all children and youth in industries which menace life, health or morals; (3) to limit the hours, forbid the night employment, and otherwise guard the conditions of those children and youth who may be employed, and (4) to aid in those constructive measures which aim to revise the curriculum and equip the facilities of the public schools to meet the recognized needs of an industrial civilization.

THE CHILD AND THE LAW

By A. J. McKelway,
Secretary for the Southern States, National Child Labor Committee.

While my theme is "The Child and the Law," the subject uppermost in my mind is the child who is unprotected by law or is exploited in violation of law. My theme is rather, "Lawlessness in Its Effect Upon the Child," and I use the word lawlessness as meaning either a low standard of legislation, or legislation that is so defective as to encourage evasion of the law, or its violation, and particularly that spirit of lawlessness that scorns concealment and is open and shameless in its workings. It is these symptoms of a widespread evil that I shall attempt to discuss, their disastrous effect upon the child, and perhaps the effect of the appeal of childhood for protection.

I once attended with some newspaper friends an old-time negro camp meeting in North Carolina. During the exercises—rightly so called—a collection was taken, one of the officials waiting upon the white people and another upon the colored people. The latter reported the result thus: "I have to thank the colored people for three dollars and sixty-seven cents." The other report began: "I have to thank the white people for six dollars and——" "Don't tell it," said the preacher, with a gesture of protest. "When the white people beat the colored people, don't tell it."

I confess to some sympathy with the sentiment of pride that prompted the colored preacher to protect his own people from a disagreeable comparison. I am the more embarrassed since my paper is a report from the field of work assigned to me, the Southern States, and I am to make this report within the borders of a state that has reached, in my judgment, the highest standard of legislation for the protection of the children that has been attained by any American state, and is most conspicuous for its effective enforcement of the law and the punishment of transgressors. Yet when I think of the children whose fate is involved, I am resolved to tell the truth, as I see it. For the

knowledge of the facts must precede the proper treatment of any evil. Moreover, in the recital of these facts and in the earnest protest against lawlessness, as regards the welfare of the children, I am not speaking of the South as a whole, but of a part of it only. I beg leave to make the broad distinction between the great majority of the Southern people, whose traditions of humanity and kind-heartedness are proverbial; whose willingness to sacrifice all material interests for the sake of a principle won the admiration of the world—to distinguish between the South and what is sometimes called The New South. The Old South was commercial; the New South has become commercialized. The people of the South who call themselves The New South have made the term unpopular among our people, and they are sometimes called The Mercenaries.

The most familiar illustration among us of the sentiments of the Mercenaries is that of the ship, loaded with an equal weight of gold and babies, floundering in the seas and demanding lightening. We say that the Mercenaries would cry, "Overboard with the babies and save the gold." The South would say, "Let the gold go to the bottom, and the Mercenaries, too, but save the babies." For, in spite of all that may be said and that may be here said, the South loves her children. She has a great many of them to love. The population of Massachusetts exceeds the population of Georgia by 600,000. But the children of school age in Georgia exceed in number the children of school age in Massachusetts by 100,000.

It is no longer an open question in this nation whether law is needed for the protection of the children against the exploiters of their labor. It is perhaps a disgrace to our civilization that there is such need, but it would be a worse disgrace if the facts were not recognized and the need met. To the employer who creates the demand for child labor, to the ignorant or unnatural parent who would supply that demand, the law says, "Thou shalt not."

In such restriction of child labor the common judgment of both America and Europe has reached the conclusion that fourteen years is the limit below which children should not be employed for gain, save in work on the farm in the interval between school sessions. It is also virtually agreed that there should

be regulation by law for children under sixteen, at least, such regulation including the prohibition of night work, the shortening of the hours of labor by day and the protection of the children against dangerous machinery and against unsanitary and immoral conditions, which the children, naturally, are helpless to remedy. It is also virtually agreed, in the experience of the nations of Europe and the American states, that along with the prohibition of labor for children should go the compulsion to attend school. Experience has also taught that a child-labor law is a "law without a friend" for its enforcement. Employers, parents, and in some instances the children themselves are opposed to its enforcement. The private citizen who attempts to investigate the evil may himself be convicted of trespass upon private property. Therefore, the absolute necessity of official factory and mine inspection, with power to investigate and with power to prosecute the violators of the law. In the light of this substantial agreement among civilized states and nations as to the standard of legislation and the methods of law enforcement, let us see in a brief survey of the field how far the Southern States have advanced toward this standard. It should be remembered in this connection that practically all advance has been within the last five years.

Kentucky, Tennessee, Louisiana and Arkansas have already reached the fourteen-year age limit, though Arkansas permits children between the ages of twelve and fourteen, who are orphans or the children of dependent parents, to be employed—a vicious exception, of course, to the general law. Virginia reaches the thirteen-year age limit in 1909 and the fourteen-year age limit in 1910. North Carolina has fixed the thirteen-year age limit, and a bill has been introduced into the North Carolina legislature, now in session, changing the age limit to fourteen. South Carolina, Florida, Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi and Texas have a twelve-year age limit. Georgia permits children between ten and twelve to be employed, and South Carolina children of any age who are already handicapped by partial or complete orphanage. Texas has an age limit of sixteen for mines, and Oklahoma the same, though the child-labor bill proper, after having passed the legislature of Oklahoma, was vetoed by Governor Haskell (for which action, it may be remembered, he was Presidentially rebuked). These laws of the Southern

States apply generally to child labor in factories only, the evil being comparatively small as yet in mines and except in a few of the larger cities, in mercantile establishments and in the street trades.

In regard to the hours of labor for the children who are allowed to work, the ten-hour day generally prevails, though in Alabama and Tennessee it is a sixty-hour week, which allows, as in Pennsylvania, more than a ten-hour day, and in Georgia and North Carolina a sixty-six-hour week, which, with the usual half-holiday on Saturday given to employees in the cotton mills, means a twelve-hour day for the other days of the week. Night work is prohibited for children under sixteen in Alabama and Mississippi; in South Carolina and Florida, for children under twelve, and in the other Southern states for children under fourteen. As to compulsory attendance upon school, Kentucky and Oklahoma have a compulsory law for children under fourteen; Virginia for children under twelve; North Carolina has a sort of local option compulsory attendance law, which was enthusiastically advocated by the cotton manufacturers, who, at last accounts, have unanimously neglected to put their own villages under the operation of the law. The manufacturers of South Carolina this month agreed to advocate a compulsory education bill for children under fourteen, which is an advance of two years over their previous concession, and to agree to the same age limit for the child-labor law if the compulsory education bill shall pass, experience having demonstrated that this is a tolerably safe condition for amending the child-labor statute. Georgia, Alabama, Arkansas and Texas have an age limit of fourteen for illiterate children, while Alabama requires children employed to attend school three months a year until they are sixteen, and Georgia until they are eighteen.

So much for the standard of legislation to which the Southern States have attained. The legislatures of several of these states are in session now or are to meet during the year, and I trust that this review of the legislative status will become antiquated before it is printed. Perhaps it may be said that the advance from no legislation at all to the present standard in the last six years has been more rapid than any similar advance in either America or Europe, for a similarly large population. But when we come to consider the enforcement of the law by the authorities or its observance by

those affected, we may as well begin with the frank admission that there is almost no enforcement and that the violations, even of the poorest laws we have, are open, shameless and innumerable. Except in Kentucky and Louisiana there have been no prosecutions for violation of the law so far as I have been able to learn.

The opportunities for nominal compliance with the law on the part of the employer, while violating its spirit, are abundant, and for this the manufacturers are responsible through the compromises they have been able to write in the laws. Only Kentucky and Louisiana have anything like a fair system for issuing the certificates of employment. In the other states the affidavit of the parent made before a magistrate who may himself be in the employ of the factory is deemed sufficient to insure accuracy. In North Carolina only the written statement of the parent is required; in South Carolina the certificate relates only to children under twelve. Florida and Texas require no proof of age. Virginia in her lately amended law, however, instead of the cumbersome and generally ineffective certificate system, which is usually simply a means of protection to the employer, added this short and sharp provision, that the employment of children under the legal age should be deemed *prima facie* evidence of guilt on the part of both employer and parent. That is at least a great deal better than the immunity bath in the laws of North and South Carolina, recently slipped into the Alabama law, that the employer must "knowingly and wilfully" violate its provisions as to employing children under the legal age. It is difficult to know certainly the age of other people's children, and where ignorance is immunity, 'tis folly to be wise.

In the Carolinas, especially in South Carolina, where it is easy enough to employ the smallest children in accordance with law, a child is not deemed employed when "helping" an older member of the family at piece-work, so long as the child's name does not appear on the payroll and he does not receive the wages himself. Of course, the difference of the effect of premature toil upon the child, himself, through the absence of his name from the payroll, is obvious! Before the passage of the child-labor law in Georgia, the manufacturers who had entered into an agreement not to employ children under specified ages, suborned their own consciences by a similar expedient. The remedy for this is the provision that the child shall not be permitted to work in or about the place

of employment. As to the certificates required by law, they are almost wholly disregarded, their protection not even being deemed necessary by the employers.

Again, except in Kentucky and Louisiana, there is no adequate provision for factory inspection. Alabama has an inspector and an assistant, who are "inspectors of jails and factories." Thus far the inspector's office has been unable to cope with the task of factory inspection. Tennessee and Virginia have the beginnings of a system of factory inspection, and Mississippi requires the sheriff of each county and an officer of the board of health of each county to inspect the factories located within the county, the sheriff being required to visit the factories once each month. This may prove of temporary value in a rural state with few factories. The North Carolina Labor Commissioner has no authority to enter a factory, and the commissioner whose term has expired made a regular report that he had no complaints as to the violations of the law. As in the case of the death of the unpopular neighbor, there was no complaint. Everybody concerned was satisfied.

In addition, North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, Florida, Arkansas and Texas have no officials for investigating the facts as to the employment of children, and only the ordinary processes of the law for the enforcement of the child-labor law. Under these conditions, a low standard of legislation, numerous loopholes in the laws that we have, the general absence of factory inspection, and of compulsory education, the great ally of child-labor legislation, together with an urgent demand for labor in the cotton factories, it would only be natural if the violations of the law were scandalous in their frequency.

I am able to prove this by ocular demonstration, through the medium of the stereopticon or the photograph, to any one not physically or morally blind. During the year 1908 investigations directed from our Southern office in Atlanta were made in Mississippi, Alabama, Georgia, North and South Carolina and Virginia. The Virginia manufacturers seemed more sensitive to public opinion, and while violations even of the twelve-year age limit then in force were frequent, few children were found at work who were under ten years of age. Through the operation of the provisions requiring children under eighteen in Georgia, and under sixteen in Alabama, to attend school, there was some show of observance of the law in

these two states. Mississippi had no child-labor law at the time of the investigation, and from the most careful comparison of the reports of three different investigators in North Carolina and South Carolina, two of them making photographic records, I am convinced that the conditions, while bad enough in Mississippi, were no worse, there, in a state without law, than in North Carolina, with a thirteen-year age limit, and that they were worse in South Carolina than in either state or in any state of the Union for that matter, except that North Carolina occupies the chief eminence for the employment of children at night, and during a working night of twelve hours.

Many words could not make this plainer. Children from seven years old upward were found at work in the mills; children of ten years of age were found on the night shift. Children of twelve and thirteen, now beyond the protection of the law, had been working in spite of its supposed protection since they were six or seven. This is child labor from one point of view. It is child murder from another point of view. How the very respectable gentlemen who engage in it, or the philanthropic stockholders who permit it, can hope to escape the execration of mankind when the facts are known is beyond comprehension. The Herods have not been popular in the judgment of history.

Another bad result of this lawlessness on the part of the employer is the example for the child of disobedience to law and the practice of deception. While in the great majority of mill villages the amazing thing was the unconsciousness of wrong-doing, of actual criminality, on the part of the mill superintendents, and the readiness of the children and their parents to tell the truth about their ages, in some mills, where conditions were just as bad, the children had been trained to lie. In some of the mills the investigators were forbidden to take photographs on the premises or even to enter the mills. And the practice has already begun in the South of preparing a mill for investigation, when a visit is expected, by hiding the children or sending them away from the mill. The effect of all this upon the childish mind need not be described.

But with the people of the South, lawlessness finally works out its own cure. The very openness and boldness of it finally brings its destruction. The old Ku-Klux-Klan, which through lawlessness saved civilization, finally degenerated in its operations to the avenging of personal injuries, and, presto! it vanished from the face of

the earth. The night riders had their own way in Tennessee until the horrible murder which shocked the country was perpetrated, and night riding will soon be abolished by way of the hempen cord. The lynching of negro brutes has long been condoned as a necessity—is still so condoned in some quarters. But all over the South, beginning in Georgia after the Atlanta riots, law and order leagues are being formed, whose members undertake to denounce the crime of lynching, wherever it occurs, and to aid in the apprehension and prosecution of the offenders. So it will be, I am persuaded, with the reign of lawlessness throughout the South to-day in the matter of the destruction of the lives and the health and the opportunities for usefulness and happiness of its thousands of little children. If I could put our photographs into every Southern home, if what I have said could reach the masses of our people, I know, because I know them, that the response would be swift. If the cotton mill owners themselves would realize the terrible effects of the child-labor system, which they are doing the most to perpetuate in this nation to-day, especially in the South, the most of them would begin housecleaning to-night, or to-morrow morning at the latest.

And in conclusion, I wish to sound again the warning to them that I made two years ago. Already they have lost the moral enthusiasm of a good part of the Southern people that accompanied the tremendous advance of the cotton mill industry, before the facts about child labor began to be known. Already people all over the South are saying that they do not want a cotton mill in their own towns, already investors who have some conscience about their dividends are looking to see if cotton mill money is not blood money. But the cotton mill men are now asking the representatives of the people, in Congress assembled, for the continuation of the high duties on cotton goods, and even for higher duties than now obtain. A gentleman from New England explained to the Tariff Commission, the other day, that the cotton mill was an infant industry, that it was an infant industry in New England, because that section had recently changed from the manufacture of coarse goods to the manufacture of fine goods. That it was an infant industry in the South, because it had only in recent years begun to make cotton goods at all. The same sentiment, that it is an infant industry, was echoed by a Southern cotton manufacturer at a meeting in Charleston, giving the same reasons. I desire to agree with the proposition, as

I interpret it, that the cotton mill business is an infant industry. I am backed up in this opinion by the Census reports, which say: "To a greater extent than any other mechanical or manufacturing industry, the cotton mill furnishes employment for children." And it goes on to show that one employee of the Northern cotton mills out of ten is under sixteen years of age, while in the South one out of three employees is a child, and that the proportion of young children employed is also greater in the South than in the North, instances being given in the Census of child breadwinners as young as five years of age. There were a thousand recorded in 1900 who were under ten. We cordially agree that the cotton mill business is an "infant industry".

Now, in all seriousness, these representatives of the cotton mill interests come to the people of this nation, through their representatives in Congress, and ask for protection and for more protection against their foreign competitors. There would be a universal howl from them if the tariff laws were so violated or evaded as that protection should be denied them. Is it not in order for the people, through their representatives, to say to the cotton mill men: "Your industry is too much of an infant industry to suit our ideas of common humanity. We are not debating the question whether we are willing to pay the same tax or a higher tax upon the cotton goods we purchase, in order to give you protection. But what we demand is that you give some protection to the thousands upon thousands of children who are now employed in the cotton mills of the East and of the South; that you, who are the only obstacle in the way of child-labor reform in the cotton manufacturing states, should cease your opposition and change it to advocacy. You are organized into your associations, and you can easily act together. The legislatures that will deal with this matter are now in session, or soon will be. Let us see what the state legislatures will do before the tariff bill is finally framed by Congress. More than this, since a tariff law, once being passed, is of no value to you without the mighty machinery of the Government at the Customs-House to enforce it, see that you who are demanding protective legislation, enforced by Government, shall give the same obedience to law that you demand of the foreign manufacturer, or the domestic importer, and that you protect these children of ours, both from the enactment of defective laws

and from the violations of such laws as you have. Come with clean hands, asking from us this benefit. Demanding from us protection for infant industries, see that you cease the exploitation of infant industry, and that you grant what you have so long denied, protection to the children who toil in your mills."

CHILD LABOR IN THE TEXTILE INDUSTRIES AND CANNERIES OF NEW ENGLAND

By Everett W. Lord,
Secretary for New England

Ever since the first cotton mill was established in New England, a little more than a century ago, the textile industries have rapidly increased, and in the textile mills, which to-day are found in large numbers in every New England state, a large proportion of the operatives are young people. Probably in every factory town at least seventy-five per cent. of the children leave school as soon as they reach their fourteenth birthday, and almost one hundred per cent. of those who leave at this time go to work in the mills. That some escape from school before they are fourteen and enroll themselves among the workers is undoubtedly true, but the number probably is not great. The problem of child labor in the textile mills of New England does not primarily deal with very young children. It is true that during the past year a boy nine years of age was found working in a Vermont woolen mill, and that a considerable number of children under the legal age have been found from time to time in mills in Maine, New Hampshire and Rhode Island. These, however, are sporadic instances and cannot be considered as characteristic of the industry.

Most manufacturers desire to comply with the law. They neither want children under fourteen in their mills nor do they wish to become law-breakers. The few who have little respect for the law are likely to be deterred from employing children because of almost certain detection and consequent punishment. The children who get into the mills under the age of fourteen do so usually through misrepresenting their age. In Maine, for instance, the law has required only that the employer demand of the child a certificate of some sort. It may be a copy of the town clerk's record, or a baptismal record, or a passport, and some employers have occasionally accepted certificates of doubtful authenticity.

When a child presents a paper covered with Syrian or Hebrew characters and assures the mill superintendent that the paper is his

birth certificate, showing that he is over fourteen years of age, the superintendent may perhaps be excused if he relies largely upon the child's statement. In some cases, however, certificates obviously false have been accepted by employers, who have thus appeared to conform with the letter of the law, but have shown little regard for its intent. In other states the officials who have to pass upon the age of children have sometimes been similarly deceived, so that we have come to recognize as one of the most evident defects in our laws the method of proving the age of children. Until we can determine some other standard than that of years there will certainly be children of foreign birth considerably under the legal age at work in our mills and factories. A high educational test is likely to work hardship upon those children who come to this country at somewhat advanced age and who can hardly be expected to acquire in a year or two the English education demanded of children born on this side of the water. Perhaps some definite physical test, which shall show that the child is physically able to perform the work of the mill, without strict regard to the age in years, may be found to be the most satisfactory solution of this problem.

The vital problem connected with the employment of children and young people in the New England textile mills is probably not the physical one. Beginning their work when at least fourteen years of age, working in mills and factories, where the hygienic conditions are usually fairly good, and fortified by the invigorating climate of New England, it is not probable that a large proportion of even the younger operatives suffer greatly in respect to their health. It is true that those who have a predisposition to tuberculosis may develop it sooner under the conditions which prevail in the factory; similarly those who are particularly disposed to any disease may sooner suffer from its effects if they are deprived of the advantages of outdoor life and exercise. It does not appear, however, from a comparison of the young workers in factories with children of the same age in our public schools that the factory workers suffer more than do the school children.

The young factory workers do suffer, however, from woeful lack of education, and the evils consequent. Leaving the schools at fourteen, they take but little of the school training with them, and that little they are not likely to apply. Less than sixty per cent. of the children have completed the work of the grammar

grades when they leave school. They have completed no course of study—they have only been in contact with some elements of culture, and have usually failed to absorb much from their contact. Like the college boy whose mother said that "he had not taken trigonometry, but had been exposed to it," they have been exposed to a little elementary academic culture, but few, indeed, have taken any of it with them when they have left the school.

Even more serious than their slight academic education is their total lack of industrial training, for though most of the young workers rank considerably above the grade of illiterates, practically none of them have had any form of hand training or of the mental training which accompanies practical hand-work. This lack is felt keenly by many progressive employers, and in some of the mills of New England the employers are, at their own expense, providing industrial technical training for some of their young employees. The fact that in their mills the directive positions are practically all filled by men of foreign birth and education, indicates somewhat the need for immediate industrial training of the young workers. In these factories where the opportunity is being given to some of the young employees to continue their education the success of the experiment has been most encouraging. While the expense and the problems of supervision and direction are likely to deter many manufacturers from undertaking anything of the sort, it may be that the increased value of the workman and consequent greater return promised for the future will tend to make instruction of this sort more general. If children must be allowed to go to work at as early an age as fourteen, the state should still retain some hold upon them for a part of their time, requiring and aiding them to continue their education along industrial and some carefully correlated academic lines, until they reach the age of seventeen.

Investigations show that the children who enter textile mills remain in that industry, though they may and often do shift from mill to mill and from town to town. The work which is done in the mills is all of about the same grade and offers little to the adult wage earner; yet there seems to be no way out, and the workers continue their unskilled way, earning at thirty but little more than they did at fifteen and seeing before them a prospect of continually decreasing returns for their labors. The young workers are by no means altogether from the poorest homes. Many of them have par-

ents who are in very comfortable circumstances and who could well afford to maintain their children until they had acquired a more complete education. Dissatisfaction with the school, a dissatisfaction to some extent justifiable, added to lack of foresight and parental ignorance or indifference accounts for the presence of the vast majority of the children in the mills. They gain neither in efficiency nor in earning power, but they have closed behind them the door to progress in other lines of employment which offer a fair living wage, and have associated themselves with the least enterprising class of our population. The state cannot remain indifferent to the needs of this large body of young people who have in them the making of good citizens, but whose citizenship is too often spoiled in the making.

The one industry in New England in which children are practically without legal protection is the canning industry in Maine. By an unfortunate exemption the law relating to child labor is made inapplicable to any manufacturing establishment the materials and products of which are perishable. It does not seem to have been considered by the legislators who established this standard that the children who were working in the canneries were also perishable. Surely it was not intended to rate children as cheaper than fish, for it is especially to the canning of fish that this law applied, yet that seems a logical deduction to draw.

Along the eastern coast of Maine there has grown up a great industry in competition with the sardine packers of France and southern Europe. The herring, which are found in great numbers along the coast, when properly prepared and canned, serve as a fairly passable substitute for sardines, and go into the market under that name. Years ago I visited a canning factory in which there were packed three different products, French sardines, brook trout, and mackerel, all of them being known as herring before they were canned. The fish are gathered in seines and weirs, and are taken in motor boats to the nearest factories. As soon as a load of fish is received at the factory the herring are taken out, cut to the required size, and placed upon flakes for drying and cooking. The cutting and flaking is commonly done by women and children. The fish must be cut and cleaned as soon as they are delivered at the canneries. This may be in the early morning, or at any time during the day or evening, or even late at night. When a boat arrives, the

cannery whistle blows for cutters, and whether they are at play in the streets or asleep in their beds matters not, the call must be obeyed, and the children go in troops to the shop. If work begins late in the day it may last until late at night, and in consequence it is not uncommon to see children of eight or ten years of age returning home from their work at midnight, perhaps to be called out again in the gray of the early dawn.

The operation of flaking is simple, and the children's deft fingers often can do more than can adults'. The flaked fish are taken to the ovens, where they are cooked in steam; then they are packed in the cans, a part of the work done entirely by women and children. The oil or mustard, or whatever flavor is to be given to the fish, is then placed in the cans, and they are passed through the topping machine, which is usually operated by a man and one or two boys. None of the work is particularly exhausting, and the rooms are usually open to the air. At the same time, the operatives frequently work long hours, as it is customary to can all the fish which may be at hand before stopping. In the busy seasons the factories sometimes run fifteen or sixteen hours at a stretch, and women and children remain as long as the factory is open. The surroundings, especially in the cutting room, are likely to be disgustingly dirty, but they are perhaps not unhealthful. The chief menace to the health lies in the irregularity of work and corresponding irregularity of home life.

It is impossible to say how many children are working in these canneries, but as a conservative estimate I should say that during the busy season not less than a thousand children under fourteen years of age are so employed. There are a good many children as young as eight or nine who work in the flaking rooms. These little ones do not always remain throughout the entire day, but as they are paid by the piece some of them stay until they have earned enough to satisfy them for the day, and then go to their homes. Others, either because of their own desire or because they may be required to remain, work as long as the fish last. I have found one child of only five working in the packing room, usually employed as long as the other workers, and earning from eight to twelve cents per day.

In many of the sardine factories much machinery is used; the law does not require the safeguarding of this machinery as it does

in other factories, and a child worker has to take upon himself "the risks of his employment". If he is injured, the employer is not liable for damages. In one instance, recently reported, a girl, only nine years of age, lost her hand while playing about a drier. No damages could be recovered; the girl was supposed to know that the machine was dangerous, and had no business to be playing near it.

Sardine canning is a seasonal industry, and this is urged by some as extenuation for the employment of children. They say the children are engaged only during vacation seasons, and so are not necessarily deprived of school facilities. The season, however, lasts from April 15 to December 15, leaving only four months of the year when the children are free from the call of the factory. As a matter of fact, I believe that this seasonal employment is one of the worst features of the business, involving as it does a long period of idleness, and setting before the children the example of their elders, who quite commonly rely upon their season's work for their entire support. Spending the winter months in idleness and dissipation, the parents are not likely to insist upon sending their children to school during these free months, and the children are certain to acquire ways of irregularity which are fatal to worthy industrial habits.

The moral atmosphere of the sardine factory is far from wholesome. Washington County, in which nearly all the canneries are located, is reported to have had more juvenile criminals in its courts during the past twenty years than any other county in Maine, and probably seventy-five per cent. of these young criminals have been sardine workers. Few of them are native born; indeed, few of them have permanent residence in the county or the state. The industry attracts a low grade of workers from a wide section, many coming from Canada. This makes the problem much more difficult for the local town authorities; their schools are not prepared to receive great numbers of children from other localities, and so the truant officers seldom visit the factory camp. The old residents look upon the factory workers with a good deal of contempt, and feel unwilling to interfere in their behalf. The churches find the problem so hopeless that they have largely abandoned it, and until the state extends its protection there seems little prospect for improving the present evil conditions.

CHILD LABOR IN THE OHIO VALLEY STATES

By E. N. Clopper,
Secretary for the Ohio Valley States, National Child Labor Committee.

Arguing from their very wide acceptance, we may conclude that compulsory education and the regulation of child labor are factors in the progress of the state. These two factors bear directly upon the family, and as the rearing of families is unquestionably another factor in progress we have a situation in which two elements affect another element, compelling on the one hand and restraining on the other.

Such compulsion and restraint are matters of no concern to families in comfortable circumstances, as their provisions are easily complied with. But no law designed to do the greatest good to the greatest number has ever been enacted that did not work hardship upon a few. Compulsory education and the regulation of child labor affect adversely the immediate interests of some poverty-stricken families, and for this reason some states blindly and illogically exempt the children of such families from the operation of the law. It seems not to have occurred to these states that their poor boys and girls are the very ones who, of all children, need most such care and protection. As a matter of simple justice, compulsory and restrictive laws should be supplemented by other measures which provide for such cases of hardship as they occasion. In other words, the various factors in progress should be made to operate harmoniously. Such provision is made by the state of Ohio.

This state directs its boards of education, upon recommendation of truant officers, to furnish text books free of charge to children of compulsory school age whose earnings are needed to support either themselves or others dependent upon them, and also to furnish the families of such children with such additional relief as may be necessary to enable the children to continue in school until they are legally qualified to go to work. The money for such relief is paid out of the contingent funds of each school district, and the law contains a statement to the effect that no child shall be

considered or declared a pauper by reason of his acceptance of such aid.

Here is a practical and satisfactory way of making the operation of compulsory education and child labor laws justifiable and harmonious in their bearing upon poverty-stricken families. In Cincinnati the Board of Education has made arrangements with the local Associated Charities to have all cases reported by truant officers investigated by the trained social workers of that organization. Relief will be afforded only when recommended by them. Many statesmen and students of sociology claim that this is paternalism. Perhaps it is, but when one considers the hope this provision holds out to the unfortunate children of the state, it seems more like maternalism.

Wherever the enactment of laws further to restrict child labor is under consideration, there is invariably raised the objection that such restriction would work harm to the poor and bring increased hardship to the widows and orphans. To a limited extent this is undoubtedly true, but the suffering is far less extensive than popularly supposed, and such cases are the exception rather than the rule. Restrictive legislation in the early stages of its enforcement is practically sure to work hardship to a few individuals, but the fact that, all things being equal, the condition of these same individuals will ultimately improve, should not be overlooked. Moreover, the introduction of labor-saving machinery into any factory is always attended by a reduction in the number of operatives, yet no intelligent person advances this as an argument against the use of such machinery. Neither should child labor legislation be opposed because of the temporary suffering it entails upon a few.

It is frequently urged in West Virginia that child labor in and about the mining village of Monongah is justifiable because of the terrible disaster that occurred there in December, 1907. As a result of the explosion in the coal mines 359 employees were killed, and the opponents of child labor restriction still point to that grief-stricken village, and claim that the widows must have the earnings of their little children in order to live. The population of this village is less than 2000, and in such a small community the sudden death of 359 wage-earners naturally resulted in a very distressing situation. However, it is interesting to know that only three children were made full orphans by the disaster, and that through the

work of the official relief committee and other benevolent organizations in aiding the sufferers to care for themselves, there was in December, 1908, one year after the explosion, not a single child in Monongah under the age of fourteen years whose earnings were needed either to support himself or to supplement the family income.

The law in Ohio, though excellent in many respects, affords no protection whatever to children engaged in street trades. Little boys and girls are allowed to sell newspapers, fruits, baskets, chewing-gum, and any other merchandise in the streets and public places of every town and city in the state without any restriction. This freedom from all restraint is particularly objectionable in cities, as children there are subjected to exposure and hardships and too frequently come under the influence of people who have no regard for their welfare. Children are forced by their parents to sell goods in the markets both before and after school hours, and during half the night, while on Saturdays they cry their wares from early morning until midnight, and neither the state nor the municipality has so far attempted to protect them. Little newsboys also may work from early morning until late at night, as there is no restriction that applies to them. In cities having newspapers between which there is keen rivalry as to circulation, the newsboys lead a miserable life. The men employed to distribute newspapers to the boys are often chosen because of their brutal aggressiveness, and the little fellows at best get but rough treatment at their hands. If the state does not include in the child labor law some provision defining the age under which children shall not engage in the various street trades, the individuals and societies in every community interested in the welfare of children can at least put forth an effort to improve their local situation by urging the passage of a municipal ordinance.

Ohio has a well-organized force of thirty-four factory inspectors, who are charged with the enforcement of the child labor law in addition to their other duties. This force includes eight women, whose duty is to inspect the conditions under which women and children work. In the other states of the Ohio Valley district the situation is not nearly so good. In Indiana the child labor law is far behind the laws of other progressive states, and there are only six officials in the Department of Factory Inspection charged with its enforcement. In West Virginia the compulsory education law is excellent, but the child labor law has two different age limits, each

applying to different localities at different seasons of the year. There is no prohibition of night work, no educational requirement, no limitation as to work hours, and no requirement as to proof of age. Moreover, there is only one official whose duty it is to enforce the laws relating to child labor, the employment of women, sanitation, and the use of devices for the protection of employees from dangerous machinery. This official is expected also to direct the affairs of his office in Wheeling, and to conduct a free employment bureau!

The situation in Kentucky is peculiar, and can best be illustrated by the statement of a farmer who resides in the blue-grass region of the state. This man realizes the gravity of the child labor situation in his vicinity, and knows that some action must be taken. Several years ago he sold a little corner of his farm to a man who is sober and hard-working, and who has been trying his best to pay for his nine-hundred-dollar home. He has cultivated the land for five or six years, and during this time has been assisted by three little boys who have been working in the fields in the summer, cultivating the crop and picking worms from the tobacco plants, and in the barns in the winter, handling the gathered leaves. Formerly these boys attended school in September and October, but for several years past the work on the farm has been such that they have not been in school at all. With all this child labor the man has been unable to pay $500 on his home in five years, and within the past few months he was obliged to borrow $100.

This same farmer related another instance in which his tenant worked his little girls in the fields during the late summer and autumn terms of the district school. His landlord learned of this, and purchased books for the children, and they were sent to school, but in a few days they were found again at work in the field. When the father was questioned about the matter he said that men demanded $1.50 per day as wages for field labor, and as he could not pay so much his children must work or he would lose money.

This Kentuckian stated also that some time ago he had a tenant with a wife and five children. The youngest child was an infant, and was daily laid upon a quilt in a fence corner while the rest of the family worked in the field eating merely a cold lunch at noon. This man never sent a child to school, and at the end of the year, after having sold his crop, he still owed his landlord $67 more than the crop sold for. This in the blue-grass region of Kentucky!

These instances can be multiplied indefinitely, and the most casual investigation will show hundreds of wives and children working daily in the fields or in the barns, according to the season, accumulating nothing, and barely making a living.

A visitor in the great tobacco factories of Kentucky finds there boys and girls working as "hangers" and "pluggers", performing simple labor and receiving little pay. The nimble fingers of children accomplish more in a given time at these simple tasks than can men or women, yet these little workers receive less wages than men would at the same labor. Child labor is profitable from a temporary business point of view, and so the evil grows. A boy works ten hours a day, taking the hands of tobacco out of the hogsheads and hanging them upon sticks, which are then put into the drying machine, or in fastening the company's trademark on the plugs of tobacco. This work does not fit him for anything else, and when he becomes old enough to demand higher wages his place is taken by some other boy, and he has to begin again at the bottom at some other kind of work. All this time he is being deprived of the benefits of education.

Illiteracy can never be stamped out until these conditions are removed. There is living in the best agricultural part of the state an American family composed of nineteen members, not one of whom can read or write, or even sign his name. In the country Sunday schools it is a pitiable sight to see the little children joining in the hymns quite lustily, and then vanishing away when the lesson books are opened, because they cannot read and are ashamed to have anyone see how ignorant they are. There are underlying causes for all the ills of which Kentucky has reason to complain, and the situation can be improved only after the people have awakened and realize their moral responsibility.

An aroused intelligent public opinion is the only thing that can remedy the situation in Kentucky, as elsewhere. This alone proves that the public school plays the most important part in improving conditions. The public school educates the masses, and it is the intelligent public opinion of the masses that not only regulates the government, but makes the country a fit place to live in. In this connection it is very discouraging to read in an editorial published recently in the organ of an important industry in this country, the statement that, as no boy could live on a knowledge of reading,

writing and arithmetic, and as one man might be very learned and yet not decent enough to behave himself, while another man might be absolutely illiterate and still be a model husband and father, the paper opposed education for working people, and, if it could, would remove every educational requirement from the statute books. When anyone asked for employment it would only look at his teeth and examine his stomach! It is almost incredible that an American citizen in this enlightened day and age, and in this progressive country of ours, could put into cold print such an absurd, reactionary statement. It smacks more of the Dark Ages than of the twentieth century.

This same mistake of denying to the working people the benefits of education is what brought Spain down from her position as the proudest nation of all, to that of one of the least among the communities of the world. A few hundred years ago Spain ruled over the greatest empire in the history of the world, and it was this same denial of the right of education to her common people that brought on all the disasters which have shorn her of her power and brought her down to humiliation and defeat. There can be no enlightened public opinion without public education, and without enlightened public opinion a nation cannot prosper. Child labor and education do not go hand in hand. The one works against the other.

Someone has said, "Show me your companions and I will tell you what you are." So it may be said of wages, "Tell me the amount of the family's income, and I will describe the condition of its members." Child labor will not increase the family's income, neither can it improve its condition. Its benefits are short-lived, its ill effects are lasting. The family is the recognized unit of our civilization. Whatever attacks the integrity of the family undermines our civilization and impels our whole social structure to its fall. There are many agencies that weaken the influence of the home and break the "tie that binds," and of these the premature employment of children ranks among the most effective. The child's spirit of independence normally reaches its full development upon the arrival of the child at years of discretion, and then the time is ripe for him to withdraw from the shelter and protection his parents afford and to take his place in the great scheme of society, supported by the ideals that home life has instilled into his soul and strength-

ened by the discipline and training that were his in childhood and in youth. But if this spirit is developed at too early an age, as is the case when a child becomes a wage-earner, his respect for parental authority is lessened, the relationship between parent and child is thereby weakened, and the disintegration of the home begins. Delinquency among juveniles and idleness and pauperism among adults are the outcome in large measure of child labor. To the truth of this claim judges, probation officers, superintendents of reformatory institutions and social workers of every kind will abundantly subscribe.

Prosperity in any locality can exist only when the amount of wealth produced there exceeds the amount consumed. So the individual laborer increases the wealth and prosperity of his country according to the amount by which the wealth created by him exceeds his consumption of the same. An unskilled laborer cannot create more wealth than he consumes, and as child labor is essentially unskilled labor, the employment of children in gainful occupations is a menace to prosperity. But allow the children to become fully developed, provide for their proper education and training while young, and when they enter the field of labor properly equipped in body and in mind, they become a real factor in the making of prosperity and society realizes bountifully on its investment. Inasmuch as we add to the power of a child, he becomes an asset; inasmuch as we take away from his power he becomes a liability.

PRACTICAL RESTRICTIONS ON CHILD LABOR IN TEXTILE INDUSTRIES; HIGHER EDUCATIONAL AND PHYSICAL QUALIFICATIONS

By Howell Cheney,
Cheney Silk Mills, South Manchester, Conn.

As a rule the textile industries, both north and south, have been advertised as among the worst offenders against the children, and I suppose that it is on this account that your secretary has asked me to explain the attitude of a textile industry which has found that it could do without the labor of children, at least until they were fifteen years old.

At the start, I must explain that my experience has been confined to but one branch of the textile trade, namely, silk manufacturing. The conditions surrounding this industry have, however, given me exceptional opportunities to study the problem, not alone from the mill standpoint, but from the standpoint of the school.

The firm by which I am employed has roughly some 3,600 hands. The plant is situated at some distance from a city, and, in a community of approximately 13,000 inhabitants, is the principal industry. Most of the employees in the mill live within one school district, which has 1,800 children enumerated. As a member of the Board of Education, it has been my duty for four years to pass upon the certificates of children leaving school to go to work, and also for the last two years I have inspected the applications of persons under sixteen years of age applying for work, to see that they had conformed to the state laws and school regulations, and to the firm's rule that they would employ no children under fifteen years of age. As a great majority of the children attended one school and went to work, if at all, for one firm, it has been possible as in few other places to watch the workings of a rule forbidding the employment of children for a year more than the law required, and of a school board ruling that no child should leave to go to work who had not completed the sixth grade. This ruling was possible but not customary under the Connecticut law, the fourth grade being usually considered sufficient to earn a certificate.

Therefore, neither the school nor the mill had a compelling law behind it, but the fact gave a much greater opportunity to study the exceptions, because they all had to be answered reasonably rather than legally.

Of course, every just exception which led to giving work to a child made it more difficult to keep others out. I must say frankly at the start that there was some opposition among some of the heads of departments to excluding these children. But in all those departments where the work requires *consecutive labor demanding concentration, attention and care,* there is now a unanimity of opinion that a textile industry can do better without than with children, until they are at least fifteen years of age. The boy or girl of sixteen will actually give in work at least half an hour a day more than the average younger child; will do at least five per cent more work, hour for hour, with an appreciable less amount of waste of material and damage to finished product. The work will require less supervision, and will be of a higher grade when finished. The savings secured to the employer by the older child as an offset to the fifteen per cent higher wage can be better measured by experience than by statistics, which are noticeable only by their absence. But wherever the work to be done is continuous for nine or ten hours, and requires attention as long as the machinery runs, our experience would say emphatically that the increased production by the older child, of goods of a higher grade, at a lower cost of supervision and all other overhead charges, is cheaper than the production of the fourteen year old child at a lower wage. Two factors have been constantly at work in the silk industry to bring about a changed condition in respect to child labor.

1. We are constantly raising the standard of our goods, and hence the workmanship. A plain black grosgrain for which my firm made a name forty years ago, would not be a marketable piece of goods now. Every process requires more exact handling than it did then.

2. The great strides in improved machines have not been made without a nearly proportionate increase in the capital invested, and hence it is increasingly necessary to secure the maximum production of machinery to pay a fair return on capital. Twenty years ago an investment of $1000 per loom would have been considered ample to build and equip a mill of one hundred silk ribbon looms,

where to-day $2000 a loom would be necessary to place your plant on a plane of efficiency equal to the most up-to-date mills. Consider, therefore, how much more necessary it is to watch the product of a machine and its operator per day and hour. When you couple these conditions with a raw material worth from three dollars to seven dollars per pound, and in which a careless hand can spoil more in an hour than he can earn in a week, he is either a very poor silk manufacturer, or a manufacturer of very poor goods, who persuades himself that there is any economy in child labor as far as silk throwing, dyeing, winding, warping, quilling, weaving or finishing goes.

The processes already described include all those in silk manufacturing in which *the work is continuous and demands more or less constant attention as long as the machinery runs.* In these there is no economy in the employment of children, at least until they are fifteen years of age.

In the above I have stated as fully as possible the economic reasons only which lead me to believe that child labor is not at all essential to the silk textile industries. In all frankness I must also present to you the difficulties which manufacturers must overcome in doing away with this class of labor. I believe your agitation would make more rapid headway and obtain the co-operation of the more enlightened manufacturers, if it would concern itself with the making of these difficulties less where principles are not sacrificed, rather than by accentuating them by prohibitive legislation. There are distinct lines on which you can co-operate with the manufacturer, and I am sure he will meet you halfway in them.

Discrimination Needed

The first of these leads to a group of employments in which *the work is intermittent* and requires the attention of the employee for perhaps not more than two-thirds or one-half of the time. This covers a variety of jobs which in the total would not employ a large number of hands, such as "doffers" or children who replace the full spools on a spinning frame with empty ones; bobbin boys, who keep the various operators of machines supplied with spools and deliver the full ones to the next process; booth tenders, who in weaving rooms hand out the full filling boards to the weavers and refill the empty ones; and a small number of errand boys and

girls. In all of these cases the work is intermittent, *i. e.,* allows for periods of rest, and in none of them are children engaged in the operation of *running* machinery. This group of employments is much more important to the cotton industries than to the silk. It is possible to define it, as above, in legislation on the subject; and the employment is not injurious to the children where it is safeguarded by registration with factory inspectors for all children over fourteen years of age so employed, and permits issued only after inspection of the conditions and hours under which they work. It represents a group of employments which constitute a peculiar problem to the manufacturer, and in them centers an economic opposition to further restrictions on this class of labor.

This kind of employment illustrates a point I wish to emphasize. I believe that your agitation does not always take account either of the things which children can do in a mill with less chances of injury than they encounter on the streets and in work at home, or of the perplexities which the manufacturer encounters, both as a maker of goods and an employer of labor. With him it is not alone a question of economies in particular jobs, important as these are, but of maintaining a scale of wages fairly adjusted to the skill required and amount of work done. If he pays a girl one dollar and twenty-five cents to put empty spools on in place of full ones, and then to rest for half an hour, when a girl at seventy-five cents can do it just as well, he not only increases his cost in a small item, but invites a condition of dissatisfaction with all of the other one dollar and tweny-five cent help in his mill.

It is one of the difficult problems in manufacturing to make a wage scale fairly proportioned to a wide range of abilities, and one's capacity for fair dealing is measured largely by one's success in this respect. The manufacturer has often given unselfish thought and anxiety to the problems which you are agitating, and can work with an intelligence born of actual experience, which is not possible for you on the outside of a mill to approach. It may be a truism to say that if you devoted more time to his difficulties you would encounter his opposition less.

His next most serious difficulty is in meeting your demand for an eight-hour day for laborers between fourteen and sixteen years of age. As long as the machinery runs in his mills there must be operatives to tend them, and these operatives must have

their assistants, doffers, bobbin boys and booth tenders. If their labor is essential, it is just as essential from four to six as it was in the earlier hours. In the proposal of a fifty-five hour week for such employees he would more readily meet you, because by shifts it is easier to arrange the work to meet a deficiency one afternoon in a week than for a shorter portion of every afternoon. He would also more readily meet you in the enforcing of more stringent physical and educational standards, which would keep out the physically defective or mentally deficient children to whom the longer hours would prove injurious. I believe such physical and mental standards should be rigidly enforced. But in allying yourself with the eight-hour cry you are weakening your cause to the extent that you are burdening the child-labor issue with a more general economic question.

There is a final difficulty in connection with the restrictions on child labor in which the manufacturer finds you in sympathy with him, namely, in providing a system of industrial training which will produce more efficient labor than our present school system does. I will refer to this matter more fully later.

To summarize my arguments up to this point, I would say—

1. The silk textile industries realize no economy from child labor where the work is continuous, and in these employments economic forces and conditions of production are working out the problem in harmony with the moral campaign to which you have given an impetus.

2. Where the work is not continuous, or not engaged in direct operation of running machinery, and is not paid by the piece, it should be your policy to safeguard the children by restrictions rather than by prohibitions.

3. The organization of a mill cannot lend itself to one set of hours for mature workers and another set for fourteen to sixteen year old hands, and here again restrictions will accomplish your ends without prohibitions.

In brief, prohibition of child labor in the textile industries, wherever the work is continuous and involves the operation of running machinery, is necessary. Restriction is required only where the work is intermittent, or is not done under the strain of the piece-work system, or the worker is not directly engaged in tending machinery.

So far as economy of production goes, as a manufacturer I believe we can do without the labor of children. But ridiculous though the statement may sound to some of you, from an intimate connection with the schooling on a large scale of the children of laboring people, I feel that these children cannot do without the work until a better substitute than the present school is provided. The theoretical proposition "that the worst thing a child can do is to go to work," is no more true than its complement "that the best thing for a child to do until he is sixteen years of age is to go to school."

You too often approach the problem from the theoretical side, and stating the condition under which the normal child can best develop, you assume that there is a choice open to the average child between these conditions on the one hand and work on the other. You infer that he has plenty of nourishing food; that he is working progressively in school; that his hours out of school are given to proper recreation and fresh air, and that his home life protects him from evil influences, while he is undergoing a discipline or training which will prepare him for his future work in the world. You assume that it is a choice between a healthy growth under these conditions and work that is physically injurious, mentally stultifying and morally degrading. Of course, this is a colored picture intended to illustrate a not uncommon attitude.

A Many-Sided Problem

Whoever studies this problem of child labor must soon come into a sense of its many-sidedness. It is only secondarily a problem in economics and primarily one in humanity in general and education in particular, and I believe that its ultimate solution must be found in the schools rather than in the mills.

It may seem somewhat surprising to you, but the manufacturer's point of view, if he be at all progressive, and if his plant has been established long enough for him to appreciate the responsibility it owes to its workers no less than to its stockholders, is not radically divergent from yours. Unless he be blind to everything but his next quarterly dividend, he appreciates far more forcibly than you do that keen minds, active bodies and willing hearts transmitted from the apprentice to the master, or from the child to the man, make directly for steady and devoted helpers, for ingenuity, interest

and efficiency—in brief, for skill and economy. If he is building for his sons, no less than for his own immediate pocket—and many an American father has that habit—he knows more certainly than you can appreciate that fair dealing with his help has no uncertain connection with fair dealing with his customers, in goods made with all the interest, the intelligence and the force which he can command. More than all, he knows, or he has missed the highest possibilities of his business, that nothing else can supply these qualities in his goods or any improvements in mechanical processes make good their absence. Humanity plays no less a part in successful manufacturing than in any of the occupations by which selfish man makes his living.

But if what I have said is true, you will at once challenge my statements by demanding an explanation of the presence of child labor in these trades. Frankly admitting the selfish motives of manufactures, I will endeavor to show the influences which are at work on this problem, and you will please bear in mind that I am speaking of the Northern and Eastern states, where only children who are over fourteen years of age, working not more than sixty hours a week, under some educational qualifications, are employed. I would say that the presence of these children in the factories is due to three causes, whose potency will vary with every locality and in every family.

(1) Belief on the part of the manufacturers that such labor is profitable, either directly or indirectly, in maintaining an average wage scale and as an apprenticeship system.

(2) The desire on the part of the parents, or children, or both, for a larger income.

(3) The failure of the school to advance or interest the average child of over fourteen years of age who is going to work with his hands.

The interests of the manufacturer I have described above, and have endeavored to point out practical ways in which he could co-operate with you. But in reality you have no right to consider his interests except in so far as they are identical with those of the children. Turning to the family and educational side of the question, I will attempt to explain, from a personal observation which is the result of responsibility for a school system in a textile town, the influences which are compelling children to go to work, where

the manufacturer's selfishness is at least restricted. I will leave the conclusion to point its own moral—that the truest safeguards you can erect for the protection of these children are higher educational qualifications which enlist the whole boy and not his mind alone, and which leave every possible opportunity open to the boy who can avail himself of it without injury.

Attitude of Parents

The parents, if they influence the child at all, in more than the average case decide in the interests of a larger family income. In a well-defined class of cases I have found that the worst offenders against the children are their own parents, and it is from them that they need protection. The only protection which will be effective against this particular evil will be the rigid enforcement of educational and physical restrictions. Laws prohibitive as to age will not affect the parents who lie about their children's ages, nor prevent them from altering and forging birth certificates in a way that would be ludicrous if it were not so pitiful.

The percentage of cases of real need in which it is a question between self-support and town aid is small, not over fifteen per cent. In principle as well as practice, self-support, if attainable, is better than town aid or assistance from any public charity which it is now possible to give. Perhaps public school scholarships wisely administered may ultimately solve the difficulty. They are not available now to any extent. But until the condition of actual need is met, you are committing a positive injury in depriving this class of children of their only opportunity to find a way out. In such cases *the school and charity authorities jointly should be given discretionary authority to allow a child of fourteen years to go to work or to be supported at public charge.* But of greater frequency than the cases of extreme need are those in which the influence of the parents, without sufficient necessity, or the loyalty of the child, persuades him to assist in supporting the family. The total of such cases of both kinds is perhaps one-half of the total number of children who leave school to go to work.

That a portion, perhaps large, of this number could actually have done without this assistance, does not seem to me to alter the conclusions that if you forbid the parents to make the children help toward their own support, you must provide an alternative, which

in the long run will make a continued parental sacrifice worth while. That is, you must be able to demonstrate that more schooling will either make their children higher wage earners or will open up to them a higher social position.

The first motive will appeal more powerfully to the struggling families, and to them the school now fails admittedly to provide a training for higher efficiency. The second motive, social position, your school *can* enlist, legitimately in some instances, unwisely and harmfully in a great majority of cases. To any one who is acquainted with our schools the most unnecessary and pathetic failures are where parents are sacrificing their very lives to maintain in a high school a child who has no ability, and cannot even conceive the value of the opportunity offered. Wherever false ideals based on a smattering of many things, imperfectly digested, have grown in place of trained habits of thought, of efficiency and diligence, your school has done an injury which can only be undone by bitter experience afterwards.

Influence of the School

So much for the influence of parents. If they do not compel or strongly advise going to work, what influence does the school have on the child's decision? If he is working progressively, it is fair to assume that he is interested and would like to stay on. If by the time he has reached the age of fourteen he has not passed the sixth grade, which means he has taken eight years to do the work which should have been done in five or six, he must have lost from two to three years either through incapacity or lack of interest. As we are concerned, in this discussion, only with those children who do go to work, we are certainly within the truth in stating that not over a third of those at work can do more than read fluently, write fairly legibly and perform the simpler processes in numbers, including common fractions. The average child who goes to work from the sixth grade, or below, has reached the limit both of his interest and his capacity to absorb what is put before him. If you compel him to stay in school, you may be protecting him from physical and moral injury, but you have done nothing to positively advance him upon his way, or bridge over what you frequently term "the two wasted years." It is possible that a widespread interest in industrial training may in time produce a school which will meet the pressing

requirements, but in the meanwhile are you justified in advancing the age limit two years before you have provided an adequate training for at least one-half of the children affected? It is perfectly true that in the past schools have been provided much more slowly than increases of population demanded.

I know that I am laying myself open to your criticism in suggesting a compromise between the fourteen-year-old standard established in most states of the North and East and your sixteen-year ideal limit. I have heard you describe in scathing terms the manufacturer who seeks to continue his exploitation of child labor by exaggerating the educational shortcomings. But fortunately the facts need no exaggeration to make them sufficiently startling. And so long as not more than a third of your laboring children are advanced beyond the sixth grade when they go to work, it is not a satisfactory solution of the problem to continue them in such a school for two years longer.

The Need in Education

In agreement with Dr. Draper, I believe that the vital need is not so much for a brand-new style of education as for improving and intensifying what we have. I am out of patience with many of the students of industrial training, who have come to the conclusion that a more or less technical training for pupils of high school grade is going to meet a critical condition caused by pupils who are struggling along in the fourth, fifth and sixth grade. No industrial training is adequate unless it can be applied to the earlier grades. Taking these grades and the ideals which govern them, what are the foundations on which we must build?

The ideal most indelibly stamped upon our common schools is that they are to provide a training, admittedly and predominantly cultural, which is to open the door of opportunity to all kinds and conditions of people. Our free American schools are *individual in their purpose and general in their tendencies,* as opposed to the *national ideal* which governs the German schools in the development of *specific trainings best adapted to classes of pupils.* The German literature on the subject which has been so voluminously laid before us recently is most interesting, but it can only tempt us out of our plain course, so far as definite application of it goes. We are not ready to abandon our ideal of a cultural training as the

best highway for an open opportunity, and we could not, if we would, force a separation at the end of our elementary schools between those children who expect to work with their hands and those who expect to work with their heads. The experience of England is no more helpful to us, unless it is an example of how not to work out the part-time system. We can obtain valuable suggestions and inspirations from the foreign systems, but to make real progress against our own difficulties we must keep our feet firmly planted in American traditions. Frankly accepting the fact that we are going to demand a cultural training, which seeks to open one's eyes to a wider world than our own, we must direct it toward efficiency and definiteness.

We must endeavor to get hold of our raw material, to use a manufacturing term, at an earlier age, in the kindergarten if possible, which should have a more definite aim. It should lay the foundations of a larger vocabulary, of a habit of doing for oneself rather than of being done for by a teacher; of simple, but definite, ideas of discipline and effective co-operation; of some degree of concentration and thoroughness, and finally of an elementary power of expression with the hands as well as with the tongue. Then will your kindergarten become a preparation for the primary grades.

In the elementary school no new direction is possible, but in our own case we have been able to secure greater efficiency by smaller subdivisions and more exact grading. Here the classes are flooded with foreigners.

These foreign pupils and all subnormal children must be reached at an earlier age; they must be kept moving and not allowed to stagnate. This can only be done in smaller classes and more specialized work. The question of expense will be urged against all this. For a practical mill man the first principle to be learned is the economy of a high degree of completion of every process in itself. "Yarn well spun is nearly warped and a warp well made is half woven." Do you school men seriously enough consider the extravagance and waste, both of pupils and teachers, in half-taught ideas which have to be gone over and over again, each time with an added danger of confusion and uncertainty? You may not admit any parallel between the production of immaterial ideas or brains and of material things. Yet you must, as teachers, admit the unfairness both to dull and bright pupils of the waste in energy

and time caused by large classes of improperly graded children. Perhaps public parsimony may be slow in recognizing this fact, but the awakening will come more rapidly if you lay your stress on the greater efficiency of what we have.

Much, too, can be accomplished in securing more regular attendance. The practical abolition of truancy by capable truant officers and prosecution of parents; a carefully organized system of medical inspection and efficient nurses who treat in school many minor ailments for which the pupils would otherwise have been out, and an intelligent attention to securing the co-operation of parents, I know, will raise an average attendance of eighty-four per cent to ninety-two per cent. This would make a difference of about a half a year in the time the average child spends in school. In a town of only one industry and one school I recognize that many things are easy of accomplishment, which in a city would be impossible.

Employ only efficient teachers and pay them well. Try to instill a spirit of enthusiasm and vigor, even at a greater expenditure of wages. No motives of consideration justify a waste of children by the retention of teachers who have outlived their usefulness. It is far cheaper to pay a pension. Too great rigidity and conventionality in your systems of promotions make for inefficiency, so far as it insufficiently rewards exceptional ability and encourages a mediocrity just short of the dismissal line.

Through the fifth and sixth grades, where the problems of discipline are most acute, scatter a few men. Here despite all your efforts those pupils who have reached the limit of their ability to profit by cultural training will begin to stagnate. Respect for a man's authority is more than a moral tonic. It is respecting the boy's developing manhood. You cannot hold him by methods which appeal to smaller children. With undeveloped capacities for guidance he feels a man's instincts, which must be honored and satisfied. In no way more legitimately can this be done than by giving him something that he is capable of doing, and through the doing of which under a man's direction he can come into a sense of his own power, and happiness in his own usefulness. Here again your school loses in power, because it has not studied its materials and intensified its processes.

I am conscious that some of you are thinking that I am treat-

ing the problem just as if the children were so many different kinds of silk and the teachers were so many operatives and foremen. But I wish I could make you appreciate how many different kinds of good and bad humanity and saintliness and cussedness can be expressed in a piece of silk. No human being can spend himself upon a piece of work without putting something of his humanity into it. The silk dress which you wear contains some indefinable impression of the old Chinaman who tended the worms and moths more tenderly than many women care for their babies; something of the Japanese children who plucked the mulberry leaves and much of the climate of the particular country which grew those leaves. The Italian girls who reeled the fibers from the cocoons, and the French women who spun the fine strands into coarser threads have added their individuality to the accumulating problem which the Yankee mill takes up. If you think we add nothing further, go from one department to another and observe the spirit and the character of the room as affected both by the character of the foreman and the hands; or better still, go from mill to mill to study the effect of the controlling organization. Think, as you hurry along in confused ignorance, of the art of the designer, the dyer, the printer and mechanic, no less than the skill of the thrower, of the quiller, warper weaver and finisher.

Try to conceive of the brain matter that has gone into the improved machinery—and it is not the great discoveries but the many little improvements that seem so simple you wonder they were ever problems, which make for rapid progress. Do not stand like dummies asking what a machine is doing, only to be told that the product goes in so on this side and comes out so on that; but try to get hold of some part of the human wits that have gone into the development of that particular process. You may not understand the process any better, but you must come into the renewed sense of the culture of work, however mechanical.

Efficiency in the school is directly related to efficiency in the mill. Culture in the mill is the same thing as culture in the school. Whoever puts something of himself into a task is on the way to attain unto culture, and whoever has taken something out of a task and made it his own attainment is cultured to that extent, whether it be in literature or weaving. The problem that is before us is not to discover some mysterious and physiological connection

between the hand and the brain. It is to find means whereby the child can express himself accurately, efficiently, and with a comprehension of what he is doing. Hand work is to many a child the easiest and readiest means of expression. If accuracy and efficiency result from it, by so much will culture, or power to command expression follow. You have in your present feebly-organized manual training most of the equipment necessary. Do not be afraid to use it under the direction of an enthusiastic mechanic and rest assured that the boy will discover its meaning without the aid of philosophy and psychology.

I have taken all the time allotted me to carry you to my point which is that if your grammar schools can attain that degree of efficiency which will have carried boys and girls who expect to work through the sixth grade, then and not till then can you guarantee the preparation which is necessary for a proper industrial school. In brief, stress laid not so much on the things done as on the way in which they are done; on culture as the power to see, think and act in the experience of childhood, rather than on culture as the accumulation of ideas however valuable, will best lay the foundations of the industrial school of the future. And if that industrial school can teach mechanical expression rather than exact trades, it will become an ideal stepping stone to an efficient trade school.

SCHOLARSHIPS FOR WORKING CHILDREN

By Mrs. Florence Kelley,
Secretary National Consumers' League.

The State of New York established five years ago the requirement that children must finish the work of the fifth grade of the public school or its equivalent, must have working papers *before* they leave school, and must get from the old country (if they come from the old country) documentary proof that they are at least fourteen years old. We do not believe a child's statement, or its parents' or teacher's statement as to its age. It must bring documentary proof from the place where it was born. Besides this children must be fourteen years old according to the school records; must be able by actual examination by a physician of the board of health to read and write simple sentences in the English language and must, in the opinion of an official physician, be of the normal stature of children of their age, in good health, and fit for the work which they say they are about to undertake.

Those children who cannot bring documentary proof of their age have to pass a medical examination, to wait ninety days from the day when they say that they cannot get their documentary evidence—to stay on in school while they try, and the board of health tries, and the principal of the school tries, to get it. There have been enough exceptional cases in which evidence has been obtained from Russia to make it seem always worth trying. Documentary evidence has been obtained from every other nation in Europe, from Turkey, Syria, from most unexpected places, real documentary evidence of the age of children by sending to the proper official and waiting for the reply sometimes about sixty days.

It is required that children must know something before they leave school, not merely that they be fourteen years old, but that they know something. Not even the word of the teacher or the principal that they know something suffices. The children themselves are examined. They must show by the signed statement of the principal and the teacher that they have attended school for five

years and then they must also prove what they know at the board of health office by really reading and writing there.

It was said when the statute requiring that was enacted that there would be bitter hardship. So the experiment was made of providing scholarships. I think we have never spent as much as $5,000 a year in any one year in a city of four million people. We cannot hope to meet all the need of the children for scholarships by private gifts. I do not think it likely that we shall be able to spend much more than that in the near future because it is not easy to raise increasing amounts of money for the purpose from private charity, and it ought not to be private charity at all.

The one state in this country which faces the situation is Ohio, which also requires that children shall know something and that they shall prove their age; that they shall not work at night; that girls even to the eighteenth birthday shall not work longer than eight hours in a day and not after six o'clock at night. Ohio is more logical than we in New York, and says that since the community reduces very materially the earning power of the children, and of these young girls, it behooves the community, not private charity, to provide for them, and it is obligatory upon the school officials that they shall do that. The county must furnish the money, the school officials must provide books and shoes, and what is needed to keep the children efficiently in school. I am told that in Cincinnati cases of need discovered by the school authorities are investigated by the Charity Organization Society and the need met as stated to exist by that organization.

We are not so civilized in New York. We leave it to charity, and we have for some few years had a maximum of $5,000 a year, roughly speaking, to spend. The hardship inflicted by this moderate requirement that children should finish the work of the fifth grade of the public schools is much less than was anticipated. It is astonishing how great a number of our school children are nowhere near the starvation line, how the working people do support and feed, and educate, and take care of, and start in life their own children. The candidates for scholarships are chiefly the children of the recently immigrated, who do not get five years of the public schools before they reach their fourteenth birthday, and children who have had illness in the family; perhaps the mother may have been ill and they have stayed at home to help her, or the father has been ill and

they have worked illegally when they should have been in school. There has been irregularity of some kind.

If all our children went to school as they should, if they went to kindergartens which are there, from three to six years of age, and to school from six to fourteen—went regularly and behaved themselves—they ought to be ready to go to work not only from the fifth grade but from the eighth when they are fourteen years old. The conundrum that confronts us incessantly is, Who are these children who are between fourteen and sixteen years old and not yet through the fifth grade?

If they are sub-normal children, of course the question is answered. There are 1,600 children in the classes for the sub-normal in New York City who are being kept in school until they are sixteen years old, because even at sixteen they will not have finished the work of the fifth grade. This is one of the most humane and enlightened things done in New York, that instead of saying "These children are stupid and cannot learn anything, therefore let us send them out to sell papers on the streets or to do simple work", New York says, on the contrary, "Because these children are slow therefore let us give them additional time."

There are occasional applications for other scholarships for children who cannot make the fifth grade, for example, from the huge families, with sickly father and mother and nine children, of whom nobody is earning anything, and the whole nine have yet to go through school. Those present very grave problems to people who wish to furnish scholarships forever from private charity. I believe that Ellis Island might be asked to look far more closely than it has hitherto done at the quality of the breadwinner when there are from five to twelve young children.

Massachusetts asks only that her children shall be able to read enough to enter the fourth grade before they go to work. New York has long asked that they shall finish the fifth. From Mr. Cheney we learn that it is the exception when children of Connecticut are asked to finish the sixth. One state, New Jersey, demands that children shall finish the work of the eighth grade before they go to work. Why have we this multitude who have learned so sadly little, that they have to have scholarships when they are old enough to work but do not know enough?

One useful thing that our scholarships do is to enable us to trace

the child and attach it to the school official who has let it become derelict. We find every degree of non-attendance at school, from the little girl who has been eight years in New York, five years in the same house but never in a school (though her younger brothers and sisters have been going regularly), and the school authorities have never been interested to learn that she existed till she is found illegally at work by the factory inspector and turned over to us at fourteen or fifteen, a candidate for a scholarship. It is a valuable thing to attach that little girl to the truant officer who let that happen. That, perhaps, is one of the most useful things that a committee can do, which is administering private charity in the form of scholarships as distinguished from the public authorities administering in a general way, as the Ohio authorities do, the money required by law for the children.

Surely the weakest point in our whole child labor legislation is the failure of the schools, not only to teach the children that which will be industrially useful to them, but to teach them anything; to keep them in school day by day, week by week, month by month and year by year, until they learn the things which we say in our laws we require them to learn, but which, because of an apparently universal slackness, we do not in any one industrial community really require of all the children or of all the schools.

SOME EFFECTS OF IMPROPER POSTURE IN FACTORY LABOR

By Dr. Albert H. Freiberg,
Cincinnati, Ohio.

I approach any further discussion of the physical aspect of premature toil with a good deal of hesitation. In the first place, because I have discussed that matter before the conference on another occasion, and I have learned but little new since then, which puts me in a rather uncomfortable position. I feel, however, that I am in possession of the same data that I was before, and that they have not been changed, though perhaps my viewpoint has changed somewhat.

In the first place I think we should be careful not to lay too much stress on the physical changes wrought by child labor, because if child labor or premature employment resulted in no physical damage to the child's organism at all, we still should have ample room for absolutely and positively forbidding it. Therefore, we should not, I believe, put ourselves in the position of looking too closely to the matter of physical damage lest it appear that the argument against the employment of children rests upon the physical damage which is done to them. This is certainly not the case.

It seems to me that while the difficulties in the way of ideal conditions which are produced by family dependence and poverty must be recognized, it must also be acknowledged that it is a fatuous policy of the state to permit a minor to sacrifice during his years of possible physical development that which he cannot hope to regain or correct completely in his later years; to sacrifice a material portion of that practical efficiency which would otherwise be his and which he requires to give him that place in life to which he is by nature entitled.

I think that in any discussion of the physical effects of premature employment, it is unnecessary to discuss the effect of employment upon children younger than ten years of age. I believe that it is generally granted that children under ten years of age

ought not to have to work in factories for a living. It is likewise pretty generally acknowledged that such early employment cannot but result very unfortunately to these children physically.

On the other hand the important ages to study with reference to the physical effects of premature employment are the years between twelve and eighteen; the years of adolescence, that space of life about which there is some discussion with regard to legal enactment, concerning which there is some difference of opinion even among those who are interested in children and who are striving in their behalf; differences as to whether a child should be permitted to work at twelve or at fourteen or at sixteen.

During the period between twelve and eighteen years we have to deal with physical and mental changes in the individual which are of enormous importance, and which are recognized by everyone to be so physiologically; a period which is fraught with great dangers to the child, dangers mental, moral and physical; a period during which the child grows more rapidly in length than at any other time save that of early infancy; a period during which, because of the sexual development going on at this time, the child's nervous system is almost turned topsy-turvy. In many cases it is turned topsy-turvy and at this time the child is peculiarly open to external influences of both moral and physical character.

There is a vast difference between the work which a child's muscles do in factory employment and the work which that child will do it if he is allowed to go freely as he chooses. A child between the ages of twelve and sixteen or eighteen years will, if given the opportunity, play and play hard. He will play baseball, play football, and he will use his muscles most energetically. He will take great delight in using his muscles in a gymnasium if he is given the opportunity. Therefore we are told by many who employ children or who would like to employ children at this age, that they are not using their muscles to any greater extent than they would use them if they were given simply that to do which they would choose to do, meaning thereby play.

Muscular exercise is beneficial. Exercise is our only means of strengthening the muscles, of encouraging their development, but the building up of a muscle which is actively growing and developing must be accomplished by exercises which are not too severe,

which are not too long continued and which are of constantly varying character.

Furthermore, the muscle which carries out exercises must be given frequent periods of rest, during which it may recover; it should be given an opportunity to build up again that which has been consumed by use.

What happens when a child is employed in a factory? The child is employed in a factory as rule in one of two ways; either in a standing or in a sitting occupation. Sometimes the character of the occupation is such as to combine the evil effects of both these positions.

Such a situation has been made clear to me in the illustration which Doctor McKelway gave with reference to the occupation of children at looms in the cotton mills. The child at the loom stands and sits at once, as it were, because he must stand in one place continuously for a long period of time in order to control the operation of the machine, and at the same time he must keep close to his work in order that this may be possible. Thus are combined the unfortunate effects of both sitting and standing.

That which is unfortunate in factory employment as far as purely physical effects upon the muscles are concerned, is the fact that a muscle must perform its functions for a long period of time without the opportunity of relaxing, without the opportunity of recovering. When a muscle has performed its function up to a certain point, we experience the sensation which we speak of commonly as fatigue. Fatigue means that there is an accumulation in the muscle of the waste products of its use, which have not yet been carried away and replaced by new material. If we continue to use a muscle far beyond the point of fatigue repeatedly, there results in that muscle in the course of time instead of further upbuilding, a degeneration and the result of such excess fatigue is the final weakening of a muscle which, if treated properly, would on the contrary grow stronger continuously. The result is that we find the children who are thus unable to change their position to relieve their over-tired muscles, taking peculiar positions which at first we call bad habits. We speak of the child that has round shoulders, for example, as habitually holding himself badly. Why does he hold himself badly? Simply because his muscles are not capable of holding him in a proper position, in what we call a

normal position. It is not a matter of slouchy habit of mind, either; it is a question of muscular weakness.

So with the child sitting at the machine, so with the child standing at the work bench continuously for periods varying from six to eight or nine hours a day. It is the lack of opportunity to relax, the lack of opportunity for these muscles to gain, within a reasonable length of time, what has been used up, which causes degeneration to take place, which causes this weakened condition to take place, and by reason of this weakened condition, certain postures which are abnormal and which will develop into deformity.

At a former conference of the National Child Labor Committee I strove to show how premature employment in standing positions tends to produce postural deformities of the feet; how sitting employment in young children tends to cause distortions of the spine and chest, and to what extent the conditions thus produced are likely to interfere with future industrial efficiency, as well as future health and chances for a normal tenure of life. It is not necessary to revert to these questions further at this time, but it seems well to mention them, and to call attention to the importance of the matters involved.

Consensus of opinion among medical men is that the period of adolescence is of critical importance for the individual, both mentally and physically. For me the physical condition of children has been of primary interest from a professional viewpoint. As before remarked, even if it could be shown that what we call premature toil was not injurious to the physical organism of the child, there would still be ample ground, both economic and humanitarian, why such employment should be forbidden.

Nevertheless it is highly important to seek definite information respecting the physical effect of such employment and for two reasons. The more important of these in my judgment concerns us the less in the purposes of this conference, since it advocates an investigation into the matter purely as a contribution to medical knowledge. As such a contribution, however, an inquiry of magnitude would assume great importance and would be likely to lend a determinative influence of great value to certain theories at present contending for proof, proof hitherto lacking because of the impossibility of carrying on an inquiry of such scope under private auspices.

It is held by some that the marked deformities of adolescence, such as lateral curvature of the spine and the severe deformities of the feet appearing at this time, cannot be produced by occupation or habit without the existence of structural weakness or disease of the bones of antecedent character. On the other hand, it is maintained that such deformities may result from overtaxing the muscular system alone, during this period when growth and development may be considered the principal functions of the body. If we could have such an investigation, it would be most important in its results, I am sure.

Whether deformities of children develop as the result of very unfortunate or improper employment, depends on a number of factors. Not every child who is employed too early in life or in an improper manner develops deformity. On the contrary, it is highly probable that a comparatively small proportion of them develops deformity. But in speaking of the physical effect of premature employment, we are not dealing with deformities alone, but with the damage to the child's general organism as well.

To begin with, children come to their employment with various abnormal conditions already existing. They come suffering from mal-nutrition as the result of insufficient or improper food at home. They come with the traces of former disease of the bones, such as rickets, and of tuberculosis and of inherited diseases. They come after having been employed to an excessive extent in their homes, or having been given improper work in their homes, or having been confined to their homes to an undue extent. These things, all of them, lead up to the postural deformities, which develop later during the course of their employment, and these deformities may be present and in formation when they come. However, this is to be remembered, that a spine which has started to become crooked, that has begun to weaken, and a chest which has not developed to the normal extent may be likened to a nail slightly bent. It may seem strong enough when you look at it, it may seem strong enough when you try to bend it with your fingers, but put it under the hammer and instead of going into the wood it bends still more. This is precisely what happens to these unfortunate children when they are placed in the unfavorable environment of factories and workshops, and at a time when their growth and development are not yet complete.

We have heard much of the influence of the school on the organism of the child. A great deal has been said and written on the subject. It is granted, I think, by schoolmasters everywhere and by others who have given the subject careful study, that the school very often has an exceedingly unfortunate influence on the physique of the child. It is said to be exceedingly important that the child should have the right kind of desk and the right kind of light. But remember that children in the poorest school are under no such unfortunate circumstances as the child is in the workshop or the factory. The child at school changes his occupation at least once an hour, during which time he has an opportunity of relaxing somewhat, or moving about. He has an interval usually in the midst of his tasks for some physical diversion. The hygienic conditions of even a poor school are much better, it seems to me, than the hygienic conditions in the best of workshops, so long as a child must spend nine or ten hours a day, or even eight hours a day, at work with only the lunch hour as an opportunity for diversion and relaxation.

A comparison of the agricultural child with the child in the factory or workshop has been made, and curiously enough it was a thing to which I had meant to give some consideration. It seems to me that the advantage is all upon the side of the child on the farm, even though he work ever so hard. I shall not go into the details of this question. They were very fully entered into just a few moments ago and much better than I could do, but I have this to say about this phase of the matter; that it is common knowledge that many of our most prominent men, not only a few, but a great many of them, have come from the farm, and they themselves have told us how hard they worked, how unfortunate were some of the conditions under which they worked. But these conditions seem to have done nothing more for these men than to give them a rugged physique and to give them opportunity for mental development which has enabled them to rise above their fellows.

Where are the graduates of the factories? I have not come across them in literature, science, art or politics. And I do not believe that they are there to be found to an extent at all considerable.

The whole question, however, of the physical effect of premature employment is more or less in doubt as regards exact information. We know or we think we know that such an environ-

ment as a child has in a workshop or a factory is capable of contributing at least very largely to the development of actual postural deformities, as we call them. We do not know how the occurrence or the danger of such deformities among such children will compare with the occurrence of the same deformities among children who do not work, because up to the present time no comprehensive investigation has been made in this country at all.

Therefore it is highly important that we should have such an investigation, and the purpose therefore of all I have stated is to show, not how much we know about the occurrence of physical deformities in factory children and children in other classes of work, but how much we do not know and how much we should know. Therefore it is a plea for the Children's Bureau.

CHILD LABOR AND THE JUVENILE COURT

By James A. Britton, M. D.,
Chicago.

My reason for speaking on the relation of child labor to delinquency is not because I have anything new to say, but because there have been things said on the subject that are well worth repeating. A few years ago a school boy who deserved a whipping got one; now a school teacher who finds it necessary to whip a child is considered incompetent. Our courts likewise have undergone a change. At one time everyone who had committed a crime had, as a matter of course, to be punished. The existence of the Juvenile Court is evidence that the old idea is losing ground. It is now considered much more important to find out the real cause of a crime than to punish the particular criminal.

Thinking people of to-day give but two reasons for punishing criminals: first, isolation necessary to protect others from contagion; second, restraint so that a diseased or abnormal mental condition may be treated. On account of the results obtained from conventional methods of punishing criminals a large-sized doubt has arisen as to the social value of our efforts. This is especially true with the juvenile offenders. The more young criminals are studied the oftener the question is asked as to the amount of personal responsibility they bear for their crimes. It is generally acknowledged that inheritance and environment have far more to do with the production of crime than any other influence. But inheritance is simply the effects of environment transmitted. We are fond of saying "blood will tell," but what we should say is, "Environment will tell whether immediate or transmitted."

It happens that most of our crime-producing environment is in our cities, and as some wise one has said that the Lord made the country, but had nothing to do with the towns, it should follow that those who made the towns are responsible for this environment. Because of the feeling that crime, and especially juvenile crime, is caused by an environment for which society in general is responsible, we have the Juvenile Court as it is to-day. This

court, with its accessory probation officers, tries to discover the particular influences which cause crime, also to discover whether each particular young offender has had more of a dose of "environment" than the antidote of helpful influence of a thoughtful probation officer can counteract.

One of the elements of this environment, and by no means the least, is child labor. This has been said by nearly every one who has given the subject any thought, and especially by Morrison, Mrs. Kelley, Travis, Miss Goldmark and others. The record of the first one hundred delinquent boys and the first twenty-five delinquent girls which were examined this year in the Chicago Juvenile Court is taken as a basis for the following figures. (See page 113.) The record is fairly representative of the twenty-five hundred delinquents examined in the past year and the percentages do not vary to any considerable extent.

Of the one hundred delinquent boys, sixty-five of whom were past fourteen, only one had finished the eighth grade, and only eleven had finished the sixth grade, and all but ten of these one hundred boys, were born in this country. Fifty-seven had been in the street trades—forty-three newsboys, twelve errand and messenger boys and two peddlers. Thirty had had miscellaneous shop and office jobs, and only thirteen of the one hundred claimed to have never worked. Of this thirteen only six were past fourteen years of age. Not a single boy had ever been apprenticed in any trade.

Sixty of these boys were physically considerably below normal, but contrary to several published statements we found only one case of acquired venereal disease. This same percentage of venereal disease among the delinquent boys under sixteen holds for the two thousand which were examined last year.

While eight of the one hundred boys were under twelve years of age, none of the girls were under twelve. All but two of the girls were born in this country, and while four of the twenty-five had finished the eighth grade, not one of them had entered the high school. Only four of the girls had never worked and only two of these four were past fourteen years of age. The general physical condition of the girls was much better than that of the boys of the same age, but forty per cent. of these twenty-five were suffering from acquired venereal disease.

At the present rate eight per cent. of all the children and twelve

RECORD OF 100 DELINQUENT BOYS AND 25 GIRLS EXAMINED IN THE JUVENILE COURT OF CHICAGO.

Boys.

Physical Condition.	Where Born.		Age.	Grade Finished.	No. Children in Family.	Occupation.		Work.	Charge.
	Boys.	Parents.				Father.	Mother.		
Good ..40 Fair ...45 Poor...15	Native...90 Foreign..10	29 71	8... 2 9... 0 10... 4 11... 2 12... 6 13...21 14...28 15...18 16...19	2.... 2 3....10 4....29 5....32 6....16 7....10 8.... 1	1..... 3 2.....10 3.....15 4.....19 5.....19 6.....17 7..... 9 8..... 4 9..... 2 10..... 1 11..... 0 12..... 1 Average..4.8	Dead .....16 Deserted ..... 4 Skilled labor..30 Unskilled.....35 Business..... 8 Clerks..... 7 Stepfather... 1	Dead .....16 Housework (home) 59 Washes and scrubs 12 Boarding house... 3 Dressmaker..... 2 Baker..... 2 Sick in hospital... 2 Clerk ..... 4 Stepmother 4	Never worked. 13 Newsboy .....43 Errand boys, messengers..12 Peddling ..... 2 Shopwork ....16 Office boys ... 4 Odd jobs.....10	Stealing.....50 Burglary ....16 Running away .....15 Fighting with weapons .. 7 Truancy .... 6 Drink ..... 2 Cigarettes ... 1 Concealed weapons .. 1 Jew-baiting.. 1 Pulling off trolley 1

Girls.

Good ..14 Fair ... 9 Poor... 2 Gonorrhœa.10	Native...23 Foreign.. 2	12 13	12... 1 13... 2 14... 4 15... 5 16... 6 17... 5 18... 2	None 1 3.... 3 4.... 5 5.... 6 6.... 4 7.... 2 8.... 4	1..... 2 2..... 4 3..... 2 4..... 5 5..... 6 6..... 1 7..... 1 8..... 2 9..... 1 10..... 0 11..... 1 Average..4.6	Dead ..... 9 Deserted ..... 1 Unskilled..... 8 Skilled ..... 6 Business ..... 1 Stepfather.... 1	Dead .....10 Housework ..... 9 Washer..... 3 Dishwasher..... 1 Tailor..... 1 Insane..... 1	Never worked. 4 Housemaid ... 8 Clerk ..... 3 Stenographer . 2 Laundry ..... 2 Tailor shop ... 1 Stage ..... 1 Nurse girl .... 1 Chamber maid 1 Waiter ..... 1 Candy factory. 1	Stealing..... 1 Prostitution .14 Away from home 10

per cent. of all the boys born in Chicago, who live to be ten years of age, will be brought into the Juvenile Court as delinquents before they are sixteen. This does not take into account five per cent. of all children who will be brought into the court as dependents, and from whose ranks come a large number of delinquents.

During 1907, one-third of all the delinquent children brought into the Juvenile Court of Chicago were sent to some reformatory. On the average a delinquent boy sent to the John Worthy School costs the city for court expenses, Juvenile Home expense and school expense $200 per year. On this basis, which is low when compared with the cost in other like institutions, the city of Chicago pays for its delinquent children committed to reformatories $168,600 per year. We must remember that these figures apply only to children under sixteen. It takes only a casual investigation to convince one that a schoolboy who spends several hours a day selling papers is not nearly so apt to get along in his school work as a boy who is not subjected to this fatigue. Nothing kills interest like being unable to keep up with the class. Failing to make a grade marks the beginning of many a laborer's career for one who might have been a skilled workman.

Judge Kerr, of Minnesota, says that three-fourths of the total number of prisoners who have passed through his court were unskilled laborers. Hardly a factory to-day will take an apprentice who has not finished the eighth grade, and many factories demand graduates of technical high schools. What chance is there for a boy who loses out so early in the game?

The various steps in the production of juvenile delinquency have been known and talked about for years. The commonest example is that of the home which for some reason does not functionate and as a result the child is sent out to bring in money. In the unequal struggle for the few cents which he gets, the child loses health, both moral and physical. The frequent example of this child is the newsboy. The average newsboy if he works three hundred and sixty-five days a year does not earn over $100. If he becomes a delinquent it costs the state at least $200 a year to care for him. When we remember that twelve out of every one hundred boys between ten and sixteen become delinquent, and that over sixty per cent. of these boys come from street trades, it does not take long for a business man to figure out that it is rather poor

economy to let a ten year old boy go into at least this field of labor.

I was brought up on a farm and I have known some farmers that would work in the rain, but I never heard of one that did not know better than to hitch a half grown colt to a plow.

To summarize:

1. The production of juvenile delinquents causes the state an enormous expense.

2. Child labor is one of the important, if not the most important, factor in the production of juvenile delinquency.

3. Lack of school and stunted physical development in the majority of cases prevent a possibility of any future but that of unskilled labor for the average child who is sent to work too early.

4. From an economic standpoint the family who sends out a ten year old boy to sell papers loses a great deal more in actual money from the boy's lack of future earning capacity than the boy can possibly earn by his youthful efforts. In other words, this sort of labor from an economic standpoint is an absurdity.

There is no doubt that the age limit at which children are permitted to work outside of school hours should be raised. If a ten year old boy is not permitted to work in a factory why should he be permitted to work half of the night in the street selling papers? Some of our Eastern cities are compelling all children working on the street to be licensed in order that better track may be kept of them. But why, when the sum total of such work is a loss to the state as well as to the individual family, should it be permitted at all? Why should ten boys be wasted on a job which two men could do without running either the physical or moral risk? At present a psychopathic clinic is being organized in connection with our Juvenile Court. Not so much to study shapes of head and sizes of ears as to follow delinquents into the actual crime producing environments with a view of doctoring the environment instead of the criminals.

OVERWORKED CHILDREN ON THE FARM AND IN THE SCHOOL

By Woods Hutchinson, M. D.,
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Child labor is as old as civilization. Indeed, in all but name, it is far older than civilization for the child of the savage has to forage for himself and fight for his own food from the time he is able to crawl. In savagery, the child works for himself; in barbarism, for his parents; in civilization, for a factory. He simply changes taskmasters with the ages, and the sternest and most cruel of all was the first. More children die of starvation, disease and neglect in the healthiest tribe of "noble savages" that now exists, than in the vilest slum of our factory towns under civilization. There is abundant ground for being ashamed of ourselves, little or none for discouragement or fear that the stamina of the race is being undermined, or its continued existence threatened by child labor. The race is *not* deteriorating, even the child of the factory slums is one and one-half inches taller and seven pounds heavier than he was thirty years ago. So far as data are available, it seems almost certain that there never was, in any previous age of the world, as little harmful child labor as in the present one. The magnificent and beneficent series of laws and regulations forbidding harmful child labor which have been placed upon the statute books of all civilized countries and states, largely by the activities of such societies as this, are simply a living demonstration of an awakened public conscience upon this subject, which did not exist before. The evil was present in abundance, but so diffused as to make no pointed appeal to public sentiment, and so universal that it was accepted as a matter of course.

It is gravely to be doubted whether the invention of machinery and consequent development of the factory system, making the labor of children more valuable, since brute strength was no longer required, upon the whole increased either the amount or the harmfulness of child labor. It simply concentrated, and, so

to speak, advertised its evil consequences; just as the poverty, malnutrition, dirt and disease of a hundred thousand peasants and agricultural laborers, when scattered out over a whole countryside or province, escape our observation, but horrify us when they are concentrated into four or five acres of a city slum. When children are overworked by the score and by the hundred in factories, in full view of the public, so that streams of their pale faces and stunted forms may be seen pouring out upon the open street, it is only a question of time when the public conscience will be awakened and the shame forbidden by law. So marked has been this effect that although there is yet abundant room for improvement, taking the civilized world as a whole, the child in the factory, shop, mine and mill, is now carefully and fairly efficiently protected by wise, thoughtful and humane laws, leaving as the only unprotected classes, the children upon the farm and in the school. To what extent they need protection, not by law, but by the education of public sentiment, is the problem of this paper.

This Committee has been so gratifyingly successful in its efforts for legislative reform, that I believe the time has come for it to turn its attention in this direction as well. The relative magnitude of the problem is easily indicated by a few rough figures. According to the last United States census, there were, of children under sixteen years of age in the United States, 650,000 employed in gainful occupations in factory, shop, mill, etc.; 1,100,000 working for wages upon farms; and roughly, 15,000,000 in schools. It is easily seen where the greatest possible menace to the future of the race might fall. If only one per cent of the children in schools were overworked or overconfined; if only five per cent. of the children employed upon farms, including those working at home were so injured, it would work more injury to the nation than if twenty per cent. of those employed in shops and factories were overworked. Or to put it differently: If all the children employed in shops, factories and mines were injuriously overworked, that would only be the equivalent of the damage done if ten per cent. of the children upon our farms, and five per cent. of those in our schools were overworked or overconfined.

That overworking and underfeeding of children upon the farm and overworking and overconfining of children in the school

exist, and in no insignificant numbers, few of experience will deny. Most of us who are born or have lived in the country will have little hesitation in testifying that at least ten and probably nearly twenty per cent. of children upon farms are overworked and underfed, from land hunger, traditional ideas of economy, Puritanic notions about discipline and "hardening" and "bearing the yoke in one's youth," or from sheer ignorance and indifference. While there are many admirable and wholesome features about life on a farm, so that it is probably, all things considered, the most wholesome and desirable place for children to grow up, it has also its defects.

Those of us who happen to have been born or raised upon a farm, a *real* farm, run to earn a living and not as a healthful and very expensive amusement, can promptly and feelingly testify that it is not half so rose-colored as it is usually pictured in literature or through the pearly mists of our boyhood memories. Farmwork is the hardest and most disagreeable work there is, with the longest hours and the poorest pay. Much of it has to be done before daylight or after dark in mud, in snow, in storm and slush. Farm bedrooms are cold and badly ventilated, and the sheer discomfort, verging at times upon agony, of getting out of bed on a winter's morning and starting the fire with damp wood in a kitchen that feels like a cold storage plant in January, and then going out to thaw the pump, shovel a path to the barn, feed the shivering, staring, coated horses, and milk half a dozen frost-rimed cows, is still fresh in our memories. These and a score of similarly cheerful and agreeable memories rise before us like a nightmare. It makes little difference where we may have gone, or what our lot in life, we never have had to do anything so disagreeable or abominable since. Moreover, while there is an abundance of food growing upon the farm, that food is raised for sale and wherever the balance is a narrow one between the income and expenditure, as it is in most of farmer's families, the bulk and the best of that food that will bring a good price in the market is and must be sold, leaving only the poorer quality for home use. In short, the farmer who farms for a living, or who expects to make money, must in the terse language of the corner grocery, "do all his own work, and live on what he can't sell."

This stern necessity reacts upon the children of the farm just as it does upon those of the factory town, and the physician in country practice can show you in the remotest and most peaceful country district as severe cases of malnutrition, of rickets, of anaemia, of diseases of the joints and the spine, and of stunted development, as you can find in a city hospital. There will not be so many of them, but they will be there nevertheless, except in unusually prosperous and well-to-do neighborhoods. In the aggregate, I think it would be safe to say that they equal, if they do not far exceed, the defectives and the degenerates of our much smaller slum population. Unquestionably, a large majority of the work done by children upon the farm, being for the most part in the open air, and under the care and protection of their own parents or relatives, is not only not harmful but decidedly beneficial; but we must not shut our eyes to the fact that young children and boys and girls are overworked upon farms, badly fed, and deprived of proper amusement and social and intellectual opportunities to a most undesirable degree, and that this is one of the most potent reasons for the oft-deplored exodus from the farm to the city. When it comes to overworking and underfeeding his children, making home hateful and life one joyless, monotonous grind, a certain class of farmers has no right to throw stones at any factory operative, miner or even sweat-shop worker. If President Roosevelt's commission on country life will succeed in reforming or even improving this type of man—you all know him, whose barn is four times as big as his house, and his *real* pets and prides his horses and pigs—it will do as much good as any factory legislation that can be placed upon the statute books.

Bad as the hours and conditions under which the children in the much-berated cotton mills of our Southern states live and work, it is a question in the minds of competent physicians who have visited the neighborhoods, whether, in many instances, the children are not better off in point of food, education, recreation and opportunities for development, than they are, upon the small, barren, poverty-stricken farms of the average "cracker" or "poor white" of those states. By all means let us insist upon the strictest regulations to protect the health, the welfare and morals of the children in those mills, or let us remember that we are not restoring them to a perfect hygienic paradise if we send them back to the farms.

The same thing must be borne in mind in regard to the other great alternative to child labor, the place to which the child must be sent if he be taken out of the factory—the school. As things stand at present, it is my unwilling judgment that while the factory may become a sweat shop, the average school in the United States to-day is little better than a mental treadmill for the average boy of the working classes after twelve years of age; that the education is so purely formal, so bookish, so ladylike, so irrational and impractical in a word, that it stunts his mind, bewilders his senses and fills him with a dislike for real education and training, which warps him mentally as badly as the factory does physically. Many a boy of this class and age, as our antiquated curriculum stands at present, is better off working six hours a day, in a well-ventilated, thoroughly sanitary workshop, conducted on kindly and intelligent principles, than he would be in the schoolroom droning and day-dreaming over classical absurdities, in which he can find no interest nor profit. The motto of the school is "By books ye are saved." But it is a case of "the letter that killeth." In the total, the school is doing more physical damage to our children than the factory.

What the boy wants is not books but *life,* not words but *things,* and as matters are arranged at present, he has to leave the schoolroom and go into the factory or the shop to get them. The average schoolroom is preferable to the shop or factory for the working boy or girl after the thirteenth year, in but little more than the fact that it protects him from physical overstrain and its deadening six-hour confinement at hard and uninteresting tasks, which is a heavy offset to this.

Not only so, but this utter lack of appeal of the public school curriculum to the working boy of thirteen or more is one of *the principal causes of the rush of child labor into the shop and the factory.* Taking it the world over, the principal cause of harmful child labor is poverty; the stern need of even the pittance that can be earned by the child to enable the rest of the family to live, not unmixed with greed on the part of a certain class of parents, eager to recoup themselves for the expense and trouble of rearing a large family. In European countries the value of the child's earnings to the parents is the principal motive for early work. In this country, however, we are more fortunately situated.

Wages are higher, so that the father's income is more often or more nearly adequate to support the entire family, and the average of intelligence and humanity in the parents of the working class is much higher so that they can see the advantage of giving their children the best possible start in life.

Statistical investigations of this point appear to have been made only upon a very limited scale. But so far as they have gone they bring out the interesting fact that from fifty to seventy per cent. of the child labor at too early years is due to the initiative *not* of the parent but *of the child*. The causes alleged by the children for their choice were most suggestive; while many of them simply wanted to earn money, to have more to spend, to get on in the world, to buy better clothes or went just because their friends and comrades did, the largest single group gave it as their reason that they were tired of school, that they could not get on at school, that they could not understand their studies or even, *horibile dictu,* that they got sick at school—they seem to stand confinement of the shop better than that of the schoolroom. In many of these cases, the parents were not only perfectly willing for their children to continue at school, but were paying out money for instruction in bookkeeping, shorthand, music, drawing, etc., in addition to letting the children keep their wages. In short, the conclusion, strange as it may seem to many, is almost inevitable that if we rationalize and modernize the curriculum of our public schools, we should cut the foundation from under one-half if not two-thirds of the child-labor tendency. In fine, as our most intelligent teachers, our most thoughtful students of pedagogy, our physicians, our sanitarians, our child-labor students, have united for years in declaring the most vital, the most crying demand before the American Commonwealth to-day is to make our public schools *educate the whole child,* and not merely the expanded bulb at the upper end of him. Train him physically and emotionally as well as mentally. Substitute the playground, the garden, the shop for the book-school. Fit him for life and for action, instead of for contemplation and culture; for service instead of superiority; for work, not for display.

HANDICAPS IN LATER YEARS FROM CHILD LABOR

By William E. Harmon,
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So much has been written upon the effect in later days, of child labor under unhealthy conditions, that the case of the child against his present environment of the workshop or mine is fairly demonstrated in his favor.

In defending present conditions of employment other arguments are used—those of expediency; the necessity of assisting in the support of the family; the unequal competition through unequal laws in different states; the correlation between the employment of children, and the employment of men and women in keeping the factory, mill or mine in operation.

Investigations with which we are familiar are naturally the study of extreme types, excessive hours, unsanitary surroundings, bad light and poor food; and the mass of testimony gathered embraces that class of workers with which we have but little intimate relationship or personal concern—the child of the mine, the cotton mill and the glass factory.

Could it be shown that child labor has and is influencing our own American civilization, has perhaps already placed its stamp upon our own careers and will on those of our children, the situation would assume a different aspect. The disorder will have entered our own households.

My purpose is to take up the influence of child labor, upon the best of our people; to trace out the agencies which have affected the ultimate accomplishments of men and women of fine, natural faculties; to show that in a greater or less degree we, ourselves, may be suffering the blight of the heavy burdens of our clean-blooded ancestors who hewed wood and drew water, and made this country what it is. With them it was a condition which came out of the necessities of a primitive life in a new country. With us it is no longer either necessary or right. It may be possible to trace an invariable connection between child labor and manhood mediocrity. The current phrase "that any American boy may become Presi-

dent" may not only be untrue, but the truth may be that very few boys who gain a living by laborious effort can possibly afterwards fit themselves for this or any other position requiring serious mental work. I am inclined to think we will see that the instances where a man has arisen above seemingly extreme handicaps in youth, prove rather than disprove the proposition that excessive labor in childhood, not only interferes with the normal development of the man, but actually prevents it.

Of those who may be classed as representing the true American type, the largest number are engaged in agricultural pursuits. There are six million farmers, of one sort or another, in the United States—of these, four million labor with their own hands, and use their children to a greater or less degree in the various activities of the farm. As a whole, these people come from good stock, and are of average intelligence. The farm affords normal, if not the best soil, in which to produce representative men and women. The child of the farm is not handicapped by the manifold disintegrating influences surrounding the city child, nor the child of immoral or destitute parents. In fact, the farm of itself gives the child a fair chance—it is a culture bed in which the body and brain grow toward, rather than away from the normal. Therefore, the study of the effect of child labor on the farm will give us an accurate idea of the actual results of the child labor itself, removed from the complications arising from an environment, which is of itself baneful.

Effect of Physical Strain

There is little available statistical material showing the effect of excessive child labor under healthful conditions. The consideration of this aspect of the subject has been incidental to investigations of children under bad surroundings. It has been largely the bi-product of work on the more imminent problems requiring immediate action. The most one can do is to give the results of experience and personal observation, and a fragmentary outline of the experience of others. My purpose is to call attention to a fact which I believe to exist, rather than to prove it; to encourage a study of the matter by those interested in children and their betterment; to lay out lines for future work; to give a basis of probability; and to justify ultimately a comprehensive survey of the situation.

My own consideration of the problem, which has extended over a number of years and in various parts of the country, has convinced me that excessive toil under the most healthful conditions between the ages of twelve and sixteen, or that any toil during this period which precludes an equivalent development of the intellect, results in an arrest of the normal growth of the brain; a replacement of functional with connective tissue or neuroglia. It reduces permanently the mental capacity of the individual, reflecting itself subsequently by the loss of ambition, of will power, the power of concentration, of extended mental effort.

An investigation made to determine the correctness of this hypothesis may proceed along three lines:

1. In the study of families of children where exactly the same conditions of living exist, but in which certain of the children have the opportunity for mental development, while the others are deprived of it through work. A study of this type of case, if sufficiently extended, would prove beyond dispute the truth of the proposition herein presented—if it be true.

2. A study of the children sent from institutions for adoption. If the intellectual achievements of the children of adoption, in a large percentage of cases, were greatly beyond those of the remainder of the family, the evidence would tend strongly to the validity of the proposition. The advantage here is, that the material is easily accessible, although the results are not so conclusive.

3. The third line of investigation would be to make a comparative study between the relative accomplishments of parents and children. It is reasonable to assume that the natural capacity of the child and his parents is about equal, and if the inability of the parent, through toil in childhood, to secure an education, has resulted in a serious handicap in later years, when compared with his children, to whom, by self-sacrifice, he has given proper opportunities, it is at least presumable that the labor itself has had to do with the case.

Early Employment vs. *Opportunity for Mental Development*

For many years I have been interested in this question, particularly in many country districts of the United States. I have seen instances where whole families, except perhaps one member, were raised under conditions involving severe physical

labor during youth, and I have noted in the subsequent history of the family, the fortunate child pursuing an even and continuous career of advancement, while his brothers, not only were left behind, but went on through life unstimulated by ambition for betterment. I have seen fellow playmates at twelve years of age equally bright, part intellectually, never to meet again, by reason of one being committed to a few years of hard labor, while the other pursued his onward course, growing intellectually as he grew physically.

I have watched the individual working child at eight, ten and twelve years, bright eyes, face full of latent intelligence; at fourteen his eyes begin to deaden, his face becomes heavy; at sixteen much of the light of intelligence has passed out, and he gazes on the world in the quiet open-eyed manner of the mentally deficient—his ambition gone, his powers of rejuvenation vanished.

I have accumulated some data bearing on the subject, where the illustrations of my hypothesis seem indisputable. The following are a few of the conspicuous instances wherein the facts seem plain:

A. Tennessee farmer, moved in 1870 to Texas, with twelve children—extremely poor. The whole family, except one, worked on the farm and in the neighborhood. One went to live with an uncle who was station master, assisted in the work, learned telegraphy, studied law, moved to New York, is one of the leading lawyers in the city. All of his brothers, except one, whom he himself educated, are small farmers or laboring men.

B. Young woman, born in Ohio, member of a family of several children, all of whom earned a living by extreme labor. She went to live with a relative, who was postmaster in a fourth class post office; studied with the local minister in odd hours; afterward took a course in a business college; worked at stenography; became interested in medicine; is now editor and large owner in one of the most important monthly publications in the country.

C. Kentuckian, born 1850, five brothers, all worked on the farm. He was sent to school, working in the Summer months; studied engineering; is now president of an important New York National bank. The rest of the family have remained on the farm—are all men of limited intelligence, and have accomplished nothing of consequence.

D. Virginia boy; overworked as a child in making railroad ties; was exceedingly bright at ten and twelve. Is now twenty years of age and very energetic; ambitious to do, but lacks power of concentration; becomes easily confused, and is earning the wages of a farm laborer. The remaining children of his family have had some advantages, and are all progressing intellectually in a normal manner.

E. Four brothers, born in Ohio between '40 and '50; two worked on the farm, and one in the shop of their father, cabinet making. The fourth took a job in a printing office; learned to read; set type; subsequently became proof reader; then editor; passed a competitive examination for commission in the United States Regular Army, and entered upon a career of much distinction. One brother a carpenter; one dead; one a harness maker.

F. Four boys on an Ohio farm; oldest brother worked extremely hard during youth to support the family, and subsequently sent the younger children to school. All of these children have succeeded well in business. The older brother has paid the penalty by an intelligence so greatly inferior to his brothers that it would be hard to distinguish them as of the same family.

All but one of these examples are children of farmers or families where the natural environment was good. These are given in illustration of the lines of investigations first indicated; where children of the same family, through relatively different opportunities, have worked out totally different careers.

The Changes in Environment

With regard to the second type of cases, those children removed from a limited to a broader environment—by adoption,—I have for some time been interested in providing homes of adoption for the children of indigent parents. These children naturally secure many advantages in their new homes, and it has been easy to follow their careers, and even to learn something of their brothers and sisters. A relative of mine has been engaged in the investigation of children of this type, who have been already placed in homes.

The general opinion of those with whom I have consulted, such men as Homer Folks and Charles Loring Brace, and my own observations lead me to believe that the career of the child of adoption is much the same as that of the other children of the family into

which he or she is adopted, and in many instances is marked with great success, while the other children, who remain with their parents because they are sufficiently advanced in years to help support the family, have been little better than their indigent parents.

Relative Achievement of Parents and Children

The third class of cases which I have investigated, and regarding which I advise study, involve the relative achievements of parent and child. It is here the question becomes an intimate one, touching our own lives. We are surrounded by living illustrations of the injury of child labor in our own ancestry, either direct or collateral.

The winning of the West was a heroic achievement, and yet, it had its price in the limitation of intellectual development in most of our grandfathers and great-grandfathers. I am not contending that there were no compensatory advantages in the development of the physical qualities of courage and endurance to which we owe greatly our present day success. I merely assert that, with the generation itself, there were limitations imposed which absolutely precluded the men of the time from such acquirements as to-day are open to those without the intellectual handicap. Ulysses S. Grant became President of the United States, but Jesse Grant, the tanner and contemporary of my own grandfather, could neither have occupied that exalted position nor any other of great importance.

The life of Abraham Lincoln is an exemplification of the possibility of achievement under extreme conditions, but in Abraham Lincoln we find an individual of great physical strength, on whose vitality ordinary tasks made no impression, and who, through the influence of a neighbor, absorbed early a love of books and learning. Had Abraham Lincoln's labor been measured by his strength until he reached his sixteenth year, it is quite possible that the world would never have been enriched by the life contribution of the Great Emancipator. The present generation is one with which we have to deal and the present day requirements are not those of the pioneer. The problems we meet are those requiring intellectual equipment. Those of the early part of the nineteenth century required largely physical strength.

I am familiar with the South where the ante-bellum farming

aristocracy and the lower whites are equally poor. We see in our cities the "unsubmerged tenth"; those who, by the sacrifice of family, or extraordinary virility and ambition, have been enabled to gain a start; but you can travel among the plantations of Virginia, North and South Carolina and find hundreds of families of the best type and heredity where poverty has been so extreme as to require the constant toil of the children; and wherever you find it, almost invariably the marks of mental arrest are distinctly evident. I have traveled through the mountain districts of Kentucky, Tennessee and West Virginia, where the stock is pure American for generations back, but where child labor is almost universal, and where the educational impulse has scarcely touched the people. Here the sign of organic degeneracy is well-nigh universal.

To all of us the investigation of this class of cases is an easy one, and if we will but give the matter serious thought, I am convinced that the evil of child labor itself, removed from any other correlative influences, will be apparent. We have but to look about us to trace the history of families in our own community; in fact, to study ourselves, in many instances, to find wherein the excessive work of our fathers and forefathers has handicapped us in the exercise of the finer intellectual and artistic faculties which we feel sure are potentially resident within us. This brings the problem into our own households—this makes the evil cry with a near voice and imposes a task on us on behalf of our own posterity.

Mental Retardation

In the great and permanent work to which the National Child Labor Committee is devoting itself, nothing could be more fruitful of good results than a thorough investigation into the definite though subtle influences of work itself on the development of the growing boy or girl. I am personally convinced that with excessive toil there is an actual organic change which takes place in the brain before the age of sixteen; a cessation of the growth of the functional or gray-cell tissue—a lessening in the depth of the convolutions, or possibly, a replacement of functional by connective tissue, which, for all time, puts a check upon the mental capacity of the individual. It does not merely make success more difficult—it makes certain kinds of success impossible. The loss

of an arm, a leg or an eye handicaps the individual—it makes it more difficult for him to accomplish his ends, but it does not make it impossible. The loss of hearing or of sight absolutely closes the door to work in certain directions. So it is with any structural change in the brain which diminishes its capacity. The world would stand aghast if a considerable percentage of our healthy children were deprived of eyesight or of hearing, but the same condition is being permitted to take place wherever children are forced, even under healthy conditions, to toil during the period of adolescence to a degree which deprives them of either the time or the strength to cultivate their power to think.

Such an investigation would be within the proper functions of the National Child Labor Committee. It would involve a broad study of individual cases; it would ramify into all the conditions of living. Where children under exactly similar conditions of heredity are placed in different environments, are many in number, but somewhat difficult to find. The study of children of adoption is easy, but not altogether satisfactory. The investigation of the relationship between parent and child, through history and in society, would reveal a multitude of cases, but obviously the evidence therein gathered would be accumulative rather than positive; but I am sure enough data could be collected to clearly prove the proposition that child labor itself is productive of degeneracy of the mental fibre. The evidence would also impress and make more emphatic the greater evils of child labor under adverse conditions of health in the work shops, cotton mills and mines, and would bring home to us the grave responsibility of permitting any of the youth of the land to be deprived of the privilege of equipping themselves for a fair chance in the struggle for success. It would show that this country is not free to all its subjects—that many are actually condemned in childhood to a form of slavery, for which the community itself is largely responsible. It would fortify the longings of those now making sacrifices to give their children an education; it would place a restraining hand upon those who, perhaps through their own earlier limitations, are indifferent to the conditions surrounding their offspring. It would strengthen us in our effort to enlarge the opportunities of the young, for it would be irrefutable proof that not only is child labor bad under unsanitary surroundings, but that all excessive labor

among children, or even all labor which does not give full opportunity for simultaneous development, is criminally wrong.

On account of the important program to which our National organization is committed, this aspect of the case has not been seriously regarded, but it may be the gravest of them all, and I trust that others will determine to consider the question—to study it in their own lives and the lives of those about them. I think there are very few of us who, through our individual experience, cannot find evidence enough to show the hypothesis herein stated provable, if not proven.

If it can be clearly demonstrated that continuous labor of any kind, imposed upon a boy or girl, introduces an element of danger to his well-being, the public conscience can be relied upon to ultimately work out a solution of the problem.

ACCIDENTS TO WORKING CHILDREN

By Edwin W. De Leon,
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Exactly one hundred and seven years ago, the first protective labor legislation of the civilized world was enacted in England. It was intended then, as all such legislation is to-day designed, for the protection of the masses against the classes. Two names, representing the extreme ends of the social scale, will forever be associated with the inception of this great movement, Lord Ashley, Earl of Shaftesbury, and Robert Owen.

As far back as 1601, in the reign of Elizabeth, destitute children and orphans were required by law to be taught spinning, weaving and other trades, and to be later apprenticed. In those days the condition of such children was deplorable. They were put to work at five years of age, and worked from seven to five in winter, and from six to six in summer, attending school after the long day's work was finished. Between the age of eight and eleven they were apprenticed, which meant that they were consigned to little more than slavery in the hands of masters, often brutal and unscrupulous.

The intolerable conditions existing at the beginning of the last century in England resulted in the passage by Parliament in 1802 of an Act, introduced by Sir Robert Peel, known as the Health and Morals of Apprentices Act. This statute limited the number of working hours to twelve a day; provided for instruction in reading, writing and arithmetic after working hours; abolished night work gradually; stipulated that factories were to be kept cleaned and ventilated, and that apprentices should be properly housed and clothed, and should attend church at least once a month. All mills and factories were required to be registered with the clerk of the peace, and two justices of the peace, one of whom must be a clergyman, were appointed as inspectors of factories with power to impose fines varying from two pounds to five pounds for violations of the Act.

Kinder Wood in his History of Factory Legislation states that "Socially and industrially the first two or three decades of the nineteenth century form a gloomy period, in which, as Spencer Wal-

pole observes, it took twenty-five years of legislation to restrict a child of nine to a sixty-nine-hour week, and that only in cotton mills." Continued agitation on this subject by Robert Owen and others resulted in the passage in 1819 of an Act placing the age limit at nine years, and prohibiting any child under sixteen years from working more than twelve hours a day, exclusive of meal times. This law applied only to cotton mills, although the advocates of the act intended it to apply to all mills in which twenty or more persons were employed.

Various acts were passed between 1819 and 1832, but it was in the year 1833 that the turning point of factory legislation was made by a law that has been referred to as "the first stone laid in the upbuilding of the great fabric of factory and protective legislation the world over." This memorable act was the result of the work started by Michael Sadler, a philanthropist and economist, and completed by Lord Ashley, afterward Earl of Shaftesbury, who took his seat in Parliament in that year. The new statute called for the appointment of four Government Inspectors working under control of and directly responsible to the Home Secretary. The inspectors were empowered to enter any factory at will, investigate conditions, call witnesses to give evidence; also to make necessary regulations to enforce compliance with the provisions of the act and to make reports twice a year. All persons under eighteen years of age were prohibited from working between 8:30 p. m. and 5:30 a. m. in any textile or silk mill. No person under eighteen years was to be employed more than twelve hours a day, or sixty-nine hours in any one week. No child under nine years of age was to be employed, except in silk mills. One hour and a half a day was to be allowed for meal times. Children were not allowed in the same room with machinery or to remain in the mill after the legal working hours. One of the most important and difficult duties of the inspectors was to prevent the employment of children under the prohibited age, for both employers and parents conspired to defeat the law, the one because he wanted children, regardless of age, to work in his factory; and the other because he was willing to sacrifice the future health and welfare of his child for the sake of the few pennies that helped to increase the family funds.

It was not until 1837 that an act was passed requiring all births in England to be registered, and providing that no child be employed

without a certificate from a duly qualified physician that the child was of the ordinary appearance and in the physical condition presumed by the age claimed.

During the next twenty-five years, between 1837 and 1862, various laws were enacted relating to textile factories and allied industries, including the ten-hour law that came into effect in 1847, and the act of 1860, placing dyeing and bleaching works under the factory act.

On August 15, 1861, Lord Shaftesbury moved in the House of Lords for an investigation into the conditions of employment of children and young persons in the industries not then regulated by law. The result of this investigation disclosed conditions as deplorable as those existing in the textile trades at the beginning of the century. Children of four and five years of age were required to work by the side of parents in the hosiery trade, and, according to the report, "mothers will pin them to their knee to keep them to their work, and give them a slap to keep them awake. If the children are pinned up so, they cannot fall when they are slapped or go to sleep." It is hard to imagine a worse picture of parental selfishness, avarice and greed than one that thus blights the physical and mental development of children, and handicaps them perhaps during life for the sordid gain of the insignificant earnings from their feeble efforts.

The minimum age of employment in Great Britain is twelve to fourteen years of age for children, and fourteen to eighteen years for young persons. Children under twelve years of age may not be employed in factories and workshops; children under eleven years may not be employed in street trades. The employment underground of boys less than thirteen years of age and of females of any age is prohibited.

A special investigation of the number of children and young persons employed in textile factories and in laundries was made by the Factory Inspectors for the year 1901, showing that the total number of persons employed was 1,120,439, of which the number of children and young persons was twenty-four per cent.

The annual report of the Chief Inspector of Factories and Workshops of the United Kingdom for 1906 gives many interesting statistics. The number of establishments under inspection was 255,189, excluding docks, warehouses, buildings or domestic workshops.

The number of employees was approximately 4,950,000. During the year 1906 the number of children examined for certificates of fitness for employment in factories was 390,869, of which 385,415 were certified and 5,454 were rejected. The number of industrial accidents reported was 111,904, of which 76,208 were reported to inspectors only and were of minor character, and 35,696 to certifying surgeons involving fatal and non-fatal injuries. Of the number reported to these surgeons 7,220 applied to young persons from thirteen to eighteen years, and 152 to children from twelve to fourteen years of age, a total of 7,372, or about twenty per cent. of the whole number reported.

In France, the act of March, 1900, regulates the employment of women and children in factories and mills, and controls the hours of labor in all establishments where women and children are employed. As a result, a decided diminution has been noted in recent years in establishments employing a mixed working force, for the employment of adult males alone allows the full twelve-hour day under the law of 1848, whereas under the act of 1900 the limit of a day's work is ten hours. The number of establishments included in the report of the Bureau of Labor of the French Government for 1905 was 511,783, employing 3,726,578 persons, of whom 300,988 were males under eighteen years, and 264,650 were females under eighteen years. The total number of accidents reported was 259,882, including fatal and non-fatal injuries. Of this number, accidents to employees under eighteen years of age amounted to 21,900, or nearly eight and one-half per cent. of the total. Children must have completed their thirteenth year, and have finished a common school course of education before they may be employed in any manufacturing industry in France. Children under sixteen years of age may be required to undergo a physical examination before beginning work in certain occupations. Children under eighteen must obtain certificates showing age, schooling qualifications and physical fitness to perform the work at which they wish to be employed. No female of any age may be employed in work underground.

In Germany, the labor of children is regulated by the industrial code as amended June, 1900; by the ordinance of the Federal Council of July, 1900, and by the law of March, 1903. Children under thirteen years, or if over thirteen, who have not completed the common school course, may not be employed in factories, mines, building

operations and in workshops designated by law or decree as unsuited to such employment. Children over twelve years of age may be employed in workshops not otherwise prohibited, also in commercial or transportation enterprises, or in hotels and restaurants. Children over ten years of age, if related to the employer by blood to the third degree, or legally under his control, may be employed under the same conditions subject to the authority of the Federal Council and local officials. No female of any age may be employed underground. Certificates must be secured by all young persons before accepting employment, and the employer must file with the local police officials a statement showing the location of the establishment; the number of children to be employed; the character of the work they are to do; the hours of labor, and the time of rest periods.

The report of the Factory Inspectors of the German Empire for the year 1905 shows that 226,565 establishments were reported, employing 5,607,657 persons, of which number there were 382,264 young persons from fourteen to sixteen years, and 10,245 children under fourteen years, the percentage of children employed being about seven per cent. of the whole number of employees.

The Italian Government published in 1906 the report of the Bureau of Statistics, giving data that had been collected by the Bureau between the years 1885 and 1903. The number of establishments covered by the report was 117,407, employing 1,400,157 persons. Of this number there were 79,415 males and 118,191 females of fifteen years or under, making a total of 197,606, or about fourteen per cent. of the entire number of employees. This is the only one of the Great European nations where the number of female children employed exceeds the number of male working children. This situation is accounted for largely by the fact that about 67,000 girls are employed in the textile industries alone, or nearly one-third of the entire number of girls employed under fifteen years of age. Child labor in Italy is regulated by the law of June, 1902, and the administrative decree of January, 1903. The minimum age of employment is twelve years for factories, shops and surface work, and fourteen years for males only in underground work. No child under fifteen years of age, or minor female may be employed until a certificate has been secured, showing the proper qualifications as to age, health and education.

Austria regulates the labor of children by the laws of June,

1884, and March, 1885. Children under twelve years of age are not to be employed in workshops. Children from twelve to fourteen years of age may be employed only in such work as will not injure their physical development or prevent school attendance. Children under fourteen years of age are not to be employed in factories, and from fourteen to sixteen years may be employed only in the "lighter work" of factories, except that from twelve to fourteen years they may engage in the "lighter work" of factories under special permit of local officials. No male child under fourteen years of age may be employed in a mine, and no female of any age may work underground. In 1903 the number of employees in establishments visited by Austrian Factory Inspectors was 789,883, and of this number ninety-four per cent. were adults and six per cent. were young persons.

In Belgium child labor is regulated by the law of December, 1889, modified by royal decrees, the most important of which are the decrees of December, 1892, March and May, 1893, February, 1895, and July, 1904. The employment of children under twelve years of age in factories, mines, quarries and establishments using mechanical motive power is prohibited. Females under twenty-one may not be employed in mines. Certificates showing age, education and physical qualifications must be secured by males under sixteen and females under twenty-one before employment. The total number of employees in establishments visited by Belgian factory inspectors in 1900 was 273,363, of which children twelve to sixteen years numbered 32,591, or about twelve per cent.

In Switzerland children under fourteen years of age may not be employed in factories, and, by special decree, the employment of children under sixteen years of age is prohibited in establishments using saws and similar machinery, or in work connected with explosives, harmful chemicals, or processes where much dust is produced. The total number of employees in all manufacturing industries of Switzerland in 1901 was 242,534, and about fifteen per cent. of this number were children fourteen to eighteen years of age.

America, the refuge for the downtrodden and oppressed, the magic name that fires with boundless enthusiasm the mind of every man and woman here assembled; admired and respected of all other nations, what has this great country accomplished for the prohibition of child labor and the prevention of accidents to working children?

Throughout the length and breadth of this "sweet land of liberty," from the rock-ribbed coast of New England, with its ever busy hum of almost ceaseless toil, to where the gleaming waters of the Pacific softly ebb and flow along the verdant shores of our glorious West, everywhere in this, "our own, our native land," echoes the urgent appeal for help from half a million children, illiterate, helpless, overworked and underfed. How have we responded to the call!

On January 1, 1909, in every state and territory of the United States, excepting the District of Columbia, Nevada, New Mexico and Hawaii, laws were in force regulating the age of child labor under varying conditions and with numerous exemptions. Most of you are familiar with these laws through articles, addresses and reports printed under the auspices of the National Child Labor Committee. While some of the laws have undeniably improved conditions to a marked degree as regards the employment of children of immature age, no one will attempt to claim that the work has more than started. Accidents to working children are due largely to illiteracy, and the incapacity to understand and appreciate the dangerous features of industrial life. The failure to read and comprehend rules and warning signs in factories is one of the most prolific sources of injury. Another frequent cause is the inclination to play around dangerous machinery, "skylarking," as factory superintendents call it, which is ofttimes attended with tragic results. I recall a case that came under my personal observation less than six months ago, where a boy sixteen years of age, in attempting to show some of his young fellow-employees how rapidly he could force sheets of cardboard through a press, caught his hand between the rolls, and before the power could be shut off his arm was crushed almost to the shoulder and had to be amputated in order to save his life.

In another case a man who was employed in a large rolling mill secured a position for his thirteen-year-old boy on the rolls, rolling steel bars. This boy got possession of a small hand mirror and amused himself by flashing the sunlight into the eyes of the men working near him. While doing this, on one occasion, he failed to turn in time to catch a bar when it came through the rolls. The red-hot bar struck the ground at his feet, coming in contact with one of his legs, and burned off the foot at the ankle.

Perhaps the most usual cause of accidents is the lack of experience of the operator and the want of proper instruction from the foreman or superintendent. In the majority of serious cases with which I have been concerned, the injured child had been employed only a few days or weeks, sometimes only a few hours, and was utterly lacking in experience, education, skill or capacity to undertake the work. The inevitable result followed, generally the loss of one or more fingers, ofttimes the whole hand, occasionally the loss of an arm.

To illustrate: in Tennessee, a colored boy, presumed to be fourteen years of age, but afterwards proven to be only thirteen, secured employment as the off-bearer on a saw, but received no instructions as to work, or any warnings as to the dangers. On the second day of his employment he crawled under the saw table, and his left arm was terribly mangled by the saw.

In a case in Ohio a boy scarcely fifteen years of age was set to work in a wood-working plant, where his only duty was to carry away the material cut off by a saw nearly six feet in diameter. Having seen the operator of the saw endeavor to overcome the momentum after the power was shut off by pressing against the side of the saw with a stick, this boy attempted to do the same thing, which resulted in the loss of his right arm near the shoulder.

In a case in Pennsylvania, a boy twelve years of age was employed to feed pieces of steel through a set of rolls while the same were in motion. Not being informed of the danger of this work, and being ignorant of the ordinary hazard of such employment, one of the rags with which he was working was caught into the rolls, and his left hand and arm were drawn into the rolls and so mangled as to necessitate the amputation of the arm about half way between the wrist and elbow.

From the state of Washington, a case is reported of a boy fourteen years of age, employed in a logging camp in which his father was superintendent. In spite of this fact, the boy was not properly warned as to the dangers of the work, and was injured so severely that it became necessary to amputate one of his legs at the thigh. Such accidents are not confined to factories or mills, for a case is reported from Rhode Island where a boy under sixteen years of age was employed in the laundry room of a department store, and his duties were to run the washer and extractor. While taking a

blanket from the machine in some way his arm became caught, crushing it so badly that it had to be amputated. A suit for $15,000 was promptly begun, and is still unsettled; the plaintiff's claim is $4,000.

Mr. Frederick L. Hoffman, in his valuable article on "Industrial Accidents," reported in Bulletin 78 of the Federal Bureau of Labor just issued, states that in 1908, "upon a conservative estimate, the total mortality from accidents in the United States among adult male wage-earners is between 30,000 and 35,000, of which it should not be impossible to save at least one-third, and perhaps one-half, by intelligent and rational methods of factory inspection, legislation and control. In addition, there were approximately not much less than two million non-fatal accidents, that not only involve a vast amount of human suffering and sorrow, but materially curtail the normal longevity among those exposed to the often needless risk of industrial casualties." These figures refer mainly to accidents happening to working adults, but there is an increasing percentage of such accidents to working children, although, unfortunately, neither the statistics of the Federal Government nor of the State Bureaus of Labor can give us the figures at the present time with any degree of certainty or completeness.

While statistics are not available for the whole country showing the percentage of working children, we find from the twelfth census of the United States that the ten states employing the greatest number of children under sixteen years of age were Pennsylvania, New York, Massachusetts, Illinois, North Carolina, South Carolina, New Jersey, Georgia, Maryland and Wisconsin. Pennsylvania ranks first, with over 33,000, and Wisconsin last, with nearly 6,000. It is interesting to note that this list comprises four Eastern, four Southern and two Western states, so that as between the North and the South "honors are easy" on this question.

The status of legislation regulating the age of employment is not clear or satisfactory. The minimum age varies from ten years in some states to sixteen years in others, subject to numerous qualifications and exemptions. For example, the laws of Massachusetts prohibit the employment of children under fourteen years of age in manufacturing and mercantile establishments, and no child may be employed without an age and schooling certificate. These laws are enforced by a large corps of inspectors responsible to a common-

wealth that administers its public affairs on the theory of the greatest good to the greatest number, and as a result, it is rare to find a child employed without a certificate in Massachusetts. On the other hand, Illinois, with over 10,000 children employed under sixteen years of age, according to the twelfth census, does not take the same jealous care of its young workers. While the laws of Illinois prohibit the employment of children under fourteen years of age in factories, stores and mines, and require an age certificate to be placed on file in the establishments employing children, violations are frequent, both as to age and certificates.

There conditions are due partly to the fact that a large percentage of the working children in Illinois are of foreign parentage, and many of these parents have no scruples about obtaining age certificates upon false statements and representations, resorting to various subterfuges to attain the desired end.

The Commissioner of Labor for the State of Minnesota, in his report for 1905-1906, strikes the keynote of the situation when he says that what is needed in his state "is a better understanding of the intentions of the Child Labor Law; more uniformity in its enforcement, and a better co-operation of the different official bodies charged with the execution of the act."

What say the South on this great social and economic question that strikes so deep at the vital elements of its industrial life? We have heard often of the large percentage of young children employed in Southern mills, and we are led to believe that these conditions are acquiesced in with the utmost complacency by the officials of many of these states. It is most gratifying, therefore, to record the sentiments expressed by the Commissioner of Labor of Kentucky in his report for 1905:

"Humanity, charity, education, civilization demand that the system of making little children industrial slaves be abolished. Greedy brutes, whether capitalists or parents, should be compelled to respect the rights of little ones to develop, at least until the age of sixteen, their health and character. It is a reform that can with inestimable value to a nation be prosecuted by a nation."

The number of factories covered by this report is 1095, of which 504 employ no children, leaving 591 factories employing 5360 children. A gratifying feature of the situation in Kentucky is the fact that of 218 accidents tabulated from the two districts into which the state is divided, twenty-six accidents only were recorded to

children of sixteen years or under, which is less than twelve and one half per cent. of the total accidents reported.

Time will not permit an enumeration of the earnest, faithful services rendered year after year by these loyal servants of the nation in charge of the bureaus of labor in the different states in the work of enforcing the child labor laws that are so often conflicting and contradictory. Credit is also due the Federal Government for the interest taken in this subject by the Department of Commerce and Labor, and especially for the investigations now going on. Within two weeks a bill has been introduced in Congress providing for the establishing of a National Children's Bureau to investigate and report upon all questions affecting the welfare, character, health and training of children including premature employment, dangerous occupations and accidents.

The courts, too, are doing their duty in most instances by upholding child labor laws and compelling compliance with their provisions. From far Oregon comes a decision of the Supreme Court in the case of State *vs.* Shorey, and I quote from the opinion the following: "It is competent for the state to forbid the employment of children in certain callings, merely because it believes such prohibition to be for their best interest, although the prohibited employment does not involve a direct danger to morals, decency, or of life or limb. Such legislation is not an unlawful interference with the parents' control over the child or right to its labor, nor with the liberty of the child." Other decisions sustaining these laws have been recently rendered by the Supreme Court of Pennsylvania in the case of Stehle *et al. vs.* Jaeger Automatic Machine Company, where a boy under fourteen years of age was injured while employed contrary to law; by the Supreme Court of North Carolina in the case of Starnes *vs.* Albion Manufacturing Company, involving injuries to a child under ten years of age; by the Supreme Court, of Michigan, in the case of Van Wyck *vs.* Dickinson, for an accident to a child fifteen years of of age; by the Supreme Court of California, in the case of *ex parte* Weber; by the Supreme Court of Georgia, in the case of Platt *vs.* Southern Photo Material Company, where an injured child thirteen years of age had been employed without a certificate, and by the Supreme Court of New Jersey, in the case of Bryant *vs.* Skillman Hardware Company, for injuries to a child under fourteen years of age.

In conclusion, I cannot refrain from a passing reference to the silent but effective help rendered by the business with which I have the honor to be associated, namely, the insurance of Employers' Liability in factories, mills and mercantile establishments. Every policy insuring an employer of labor against loss from liability for accidents to his employees contains a clause exempting the insurance company from liability in case of an accident to or caused by any child employed contrary to law. The great force of this provision and its widespread influence as a deterrent against child labor is at once apparent. Legislation will correct this evil eventually, and public opinion can create a strong sentiment that will tend more and more to ameliorate the condition of working children, but selfish considerations of economy will ever be the most potent argument in favor of the employment of persons of legal age. Employers will come to realize in time, as many of them have already been convinced, that they cannot afford to violate the child labor laws of their state, for they not only incur a liability for damages thereby, but are unable to secure insurance to protect them against loss in such cases.

Thus it is that history repeats itself, for the origin of child labor grew out of the sordid desire of employers to secure labor at the lowest possible cost, regardless of the law of nature or of man, and the same selfish considerations will serve to exterminate child labor when it is no longer profitable to use it. Far better that we should consider the moral and intellectual side of this question, rather than the purely material side, for it is only in that way that we can hope to build up individual, as well as national, character.

It was more than three-quarters of a century before the manufacturers, workmen, economists and legislators of Europe and America realized the fallacy of the doctrine that the limitation of the age of employment of children and the reduction of the hours of labor would result in reduction of wages, or increase in the price of manufactured goods, or perhaps both. As a matter of fact, the ultimate end of factory legislation is to create conditions of existence below which the working population of any community shall not decline. Only a certain amount of labor is possible to be, and is actually got out of men, women and children within the ordinary and reasonable limits of a working day,

and the object of the regulations in factory acts is to create the greatest degree of efficiency and productiveness in every working unit. To employ children below the natural and normal age of creative ability, or to work them beyond the limits of their physical endurance, is to impair the commercial value of their efforts, and to incur a debt with nature that neither the child nor the community may be able to liquidate in after years.

UNIFORM SYSTEMS OF CHILD LABOR STATISTICS

By Hon. John Williams,
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Not long ago I heard a speaker say that one of the distinguishing features in the history of social progress in the twentieth century would be the place given to the consideration of the rights of children. Whether or not such prophecy will be fulfilled we cannot tell. But I feel that I am absolutely safe in saying that with respect to the conservation of the secular interests of our children, the history of the century will not record a single backward step. The intensity of the movement of which this Conference is but a manifestation, is a positive guarantee that in our country the exploitation of child labor is doomed. The trend is irresistible and the future is full of promise. The emancipation of the child will be accomplished.

However, as we follow the account given of the conflict between the representatives of this social movement and those who represent the employers of children, we realize that the battle is not yet won. When we come to examine the statutes of our several states we find that the subject of child labor has been sadly neglected in many of them. This fact is a stain upon our civilization and is sufficient justification for the existence of the National Child Labor Committee. The treasure expended in the maintenance of intensive work along this line will in the future bring incalculable returns. The enactment of laws to restrict and to regulate the employment of children, and the creation of state agencies to enforce such laws, are two of the principal objects undertaken by Child Labor Committees. And when that is done, there arises the necessity of observing the enforcement of those laws, their effect upon the problem; the need of amendment and improvement in order to meet new conditions must be carefully considered—in short, every step must be taken deliberately and with a set purpose. In order that every dollar expended and every ounce of energy applied be made to yield a maximum return, I conceive it to be the duty of all who in any way have to do with the campaign so to arrange their work as to

dovetail with the effort of others, so that there shall be no waste. I would apply this obligation to every agency, official and unofficial.

Two-thirds of the states have provided for some degree or method of factory inspection, and one of the chief duties of a factory inspector is the enforcement of child labor laws in the manufacturing establishments within his jurisdiction. The proper exercise of this governmental function is important, in the first place, to the men, women and children whose immediate employment is affected thereby. So far as the individual interest of each such employee is concerned, it is immaterial, if the administration of the factory law be effective, whether or not the outside world knows anything about the work done. The record of the inspector's activity is of no moment to them if the conditions of their employment are properly regulated as provided by law. But the work of a factory inspector is important in a broader sense than that. It sustains a direct relation to the progress of society. Recognizing this fact, laws creating the office of factory inspector provide that such official shall preserve and present annually to some higher authority a record or report of his official acts. These reports are printed and distributed, and through them those who are sufficiently interested can gain some idea of the services rendered.

The factory inspector is the only government agent, who, during the years intervening between federal or state census, has authority to enter our manufacturing places and obtain certain information, which, when properly collated, is of great practical value as a means to determine the development and growth of industry. That the value of his reports is determined by the methods employed to present the facts will be readily admitted. If the scheme of the report is clumsy and unscientific, its value is impaired, for in this age when everything moves so rapidly, neither the student, the social worker, nor the statesman can afford the time to dig information, valuable in itself, which is hidden under a mass of ill-arranged material, and no factory inspector should permit himself to follow a plan of reports that produces discouragement and despair in the mind of the seeker after knowledge.

There is no phase of the factory inspector's work concerning which it is more important that precise information be available than the facts relating to the administration of laws regulating child labor, and it is to the methods employed, or that should be em-

ployed, to record those facts that I shall devote the remainder of my time.

It has been my privilege—somewhat painful in a few cases—to examine the reports of state factory inspectors with a view of securing such information as I thought such reports should contain, as would enable me to gauge the problem from a national standpoint. But, as many of you know, I was doomed to disappointment. Some factory inspectors have contented themselves with a brief textual reference to the subject, and have left us completely in the dark as to the extent of the problem within their jurisdiction. Others have given us apparently complete data, but the arrangement thereof is so ill-adapted to the purposes for which we read the reports as to be almost worthless. For obvious reasons, however, I cannot undertake any sort of a comparative statement of the methods employed by the several departments of inspection in presenting the facts of child labor. I shall present my own ideas of the manner in which a factory inspector should give to the world in condensed and intelligible form the record of the manufacturers of his state in respect to the employment of children.

To begin with, let me say that I speak now as a factory inspector—as an officer whose primary duty is to enforce enactments for the protection of factory workers. I am not a statistician, but when I come to prepare my report I find that I need to use numbers—I want to convey clearly and briefly certain information regarding my work which is of sufficient importance to be preserved; so, perforce of circumstances, I must employ the methods of the man who speaks not in words but in numerals. If I do not adopt this plan, I must leave out much that is of value or string out my report to inordinate lengths. In either case it would be practically valueless. My desire is to present the facts so simply and so clearly that the most ordinary mind can grasp their significance. This can be done in regard to child labor statistics which are gathered, or should be gathered, by the factory inspectors of the country. Every inspector who is neglecting entirely the statistics of factories is falling far short of his opportunities.

The social value of statistics covering the following group of related facts can be quite fully appreciated by those who make a study of industrial conditions and progress:

Number of establishments inspected.

Number of employees at time of inspection.
Number of adult males.
Number of adult females (over sixteen).
Number of male minors (sixteen to eighteen).
Number of boys (fourteen to sixteen).
Number of girls (fourteen to sixteen).
Number of children under fourteen.

It is regrettable that in a few states the factory inspector's report is devoid of any statistical statement. Such reports have scarcely any value whatsoever. The text may be well written, but the absence of statistical grouping of basic facts makes us feel that the fine descriptive text is like a house built without a foundation—we do not know when it may tumble about our ears.

To secure the statistical information above mentioned is a simple problem for the members of our field staff. It is incorporated in the report for each factory and sent to the main office. The work of tabulation can be done thereafter, and may be confined to comparatively simple tables, or, if scientific statisticians are available, more minute and elaborate tables might be worked out. No valid excuse can be given by those inspectors, who, year after year, inflict upon the public the unsatisfactory task of reading a mass of generalties which are unsupported by figures showing the facts supposedly described. I imagine that I hear someone say it is quite easy for the Commissioner of Labor of New York to urge that factory inspectors devote more time to the preparation of statistical tables for their reports, for he has a corps of trained statisticians to perform such service for his bureau of factory inspection, while the factory inspectors in other states are denied the services of even one person experienced in statistical work. It is probably true that no other state department of factory inspection is so fortunate as that of the state of New York. We have an excellent bureau of statistics; yet not all of the statistical tables which appear in the report of our bureau of factory inspection are prepared by the bureau of statistics. I want to state now that, in my opinion, no factory inspector can escape the charge that because his reports do not contain intelligible statistical information, they are deficient in value and interest, by saying that his appropriations would not permit the hiring of persons to prepare such tables. Any person who is intelligent enough to be a factory inspector—who plans and

directs the administration of the laws committed to his department—who possesses a mind keen enough to grasp the facts brought to light through the service, so as to be able to prepare the text of his report—surely can very readily devise simple statistical tables to contain in condensed form the information regularly gathered by this field staff. This being done, any ordinary clerk can carry out the scheme. Such condensed tables would enhance the value of reports of inspection.

When we consider the intense public interest in the subject of child labor, it is astonishing how unresponsive some factory inspectors have been and how meager and uninteresting are the statistics bearing upon the subject as contained in their reports. A public officer whose duty it is to enforce laws for the amelioration of labor should not stifle his humane instincts. As a matter of fact, his close contact with the ills and woes of those who toil should stimulate him to greater activity—to a keener sense of his obligation to see that the full benefit of all laws for their protection should accrue to them. When a factory inspector reaches that stage in his official career as to be indifferent or callous and unresponsive to a reasonable and intelligent and wisely directed public sentiment in regard to matters affecting his official duties, he has outlived his public usefulness.

The National Child Labor Committee realizes the importance of uniform child labor statistics. Therefore, what I have to say upon the subject is not intended as an argument addressed to those participating in this conference. I want to point out, however, a line of duty in respect to this matter which opens out to you, namely, that an earnest effort be made to lead every department of factory inspection to consider very carefully the advisability of agreeing upon some plan of uniform statistics whereby the problem can be broadly and correctly gauged. It seems to me that this Committee could, with entire propriety, formulate a definite plan and have it submitted to the official head of each state department charged with the enforcement of child labor laws, with the request that the plan or system be adopted. It is idle for us to criticise the shortcomings of governmental agents unless we are prepared to go farther and make our criticism constructive. We must suggest methods of improvement; otherwise, our criticism assumes the character of faultfinding.

I hope I may be pardoned for presuming to think that the statistics of child labor, published by the New York Department of Labor, furnish as satisfactory and as comprehensive a statement of the problem as can be found in any official report published in this country. Our tables are quite simple and do not require for their preparation an advanced degree of statistical skill. At the close of our departmental year, within one week after all the inspection reports covering the work done on the last day of the year are received at the office, we can state definitely the full extent of the problem of child labor in each county in the state. This record is arranged for our report in tabular form and shows how many boys and girls fourteen to sixteen were found at work legally, and how many were illegally employed; we also show how many boys and girls under fourteen were at work. By means of this table we centre the attention of our people upon the extent of child labor in our industrial communities, thereby emphasizing the need of vigilance on the part of the friends of the children wherever it appears that the ratio of children to the adult factory workers is abnormally high.

The preparation of this special table is quite simple and the work is done wholly within the bureau of factory inspection. Of course, it will be understood that the data for the table are gathered by the field staff, and are sent to us on special slips provided for that purpose. Upon this slip the deputy factory inspector, if there be occasion for such a course, separates the children employed in each factory into three groups, namely, legally employed, illegally employed, and under fourteen years of age. This slip is really an analysis of the children reported at work in the regular inspection schedule. When received they are filed away by counties until the end of the year, when they are available for use as heretofore mentioned. Statistics of child labor grouped by industries are also of supreme importance, for by no other method can the relative degree of responsibility be properly determined and fixed. The question of restricting the freedom of children to engage in certain occupations is attracting more and more attention, and nobody doubts the need of its serious consideration; but before we undertake restrictive legislation affecting a given industry, we ought to know whether or not children are engaged in it.

Nothing should be taken for granted. A spirit of absolute

fairness should be manifested towards every manufacturing business. It is the duty of every factory inspector to furnish his people with a clear statement of the number of children at work in each industry represented in the manufacturing interests of his state. I will admit that this would involve statistical work of more intricate and technical character, but as to its importance and value there can be but one opinion.

New York publishes statistical tables showing the facts just mentioned. We can tell how many children were at work in a given industry in any stated year. I also conceive this grouping by industries to be important to those who appear before legislative committees in states where efforts are being made to secure the enactment of child labor laws, especially so if the representatives of certain interests argue against the proposed laws on the ground that such enactments would paralyze their industries. If it can be shown that similar industries have been able to survive restrictive legislation in one state, it can be urged that they ought to be able to do so in another. Thus the arguments of the opposition could be successfully met. I do not believe we are very much concerned whether John Smith, who manufactures carpets, employs five, ten or twenty children, except when it is alleged that he employs them illegally. But we are interestd in the question as to how many children he and all other manufacturers of carpets in our state are employing, and it is our business to know it and to report it.

Another feature of the report of the factory inspector which vitally affects the problem of child labor is that relating to punitive activity. In New York we have had a fair trial of both methods of law enforcement. Our experience proved that the moral suasion idea as applied to our work was a total failure. There is one way to enforce the law—a fair warning, then a grim demonstration of the fact that the note of warning was just exactly what it purported to be. I am not sure that uniform statistics can be prepared in respect to this phase of our work because of the great variety in the provisions of law relating to child employment on the one hand, and on the other the very striking differences in judicial procedure in the several states. I think, however, that a detailed statement in tabular form, giving the name and address of the defendant, nature of violation, and result of proceedings, should be printed in the factory inspector's report. Those who deliberately

exploit children should be criminally prosecuted, and in addition, their unworthy practices should be exposed in the printed permanent record of the department of inspection. A factory inspector cannot permit himself to be under any sort of obligation to shield violators of the law.

I cannot close my remarks without expressing the hope that in the near future each Commonwealth will have awakened to its full responsibilities with respect to the protection of its children. It is generally conceded that age limit and educational tests, as a bases for determining the right of a child to work in a factory, are unscientific and unreliable. The mere fact that a child has reached a certain age is no proof of its physical fitness to engage in the stern realities of the conflict or struggle for a livelihood. New York has authorized the employment of a medical inspector of factories. We expect to utilize the services of such officer to observe the children who are employed in certain industries, and to gather such data regarding their physical condition and development as will prove helpful in solving the problem. During the year just ended he recorded examinations of a number of children of different nationalities, and the results, while by no means conclusive, point to the great complexity of the whole subject, owing to the cosmopolitan character of our population. I am confident that in due time the introduction of medical science into the intensely practical field of factory inspection will leave an indelible impression.

I predict that as New York demonstrates the value of this new departure, other states will follow her lead. I believe the time will soon come when a conference may be called of the medical inspectors of factories representing every industrial state. Such a conference would wield nation-wide influence in respect to factory sanitation, female labor, and particularly the regulation of child labor. I think our report just published demonstrates clearly that from a sanitary standpoint a wise step was taken when provision was made for a medical inspector. We feel assured that our work on behalf of the children, along the lines indicated herein, will furnish not only a complete justification for the money expended, but will point out the need of extension in order that the whole field be promptly and properly covered.

I have not kept very closely to my subject. I was asked to

outline a scheme of uniform child labor statistics. I have not presumed to do so. I have tried to suggest a few things in regard to an important phase of the question. I have undertaken to point out the duty of the National Child Labor Committee in relation to this matter. If I have succeeded in awakening, even in a small degree, a new sort of interest in the dry side of the child-labor question, then I shall feel that my trip to the city of Chicago was not in vain. And should this Committee see fit to undertake a campaign for uniform statistics. I shall be happy to collaborate in the preparation of a plan to be urged upon the chief factory inspectors. I am personally satisfied that a large majority of our factory inspectors are in full sympathy with the work of this splendid organization.

As a closing word, I assume it to be unnecessary for me, while discussing the importance of uniform systems of statistics of child labor, to emphasiz the great need of comparative uniformity in the laws relating to the same subject.

THE PRESENT SITUATION IN ILLINOIS

By Edgar T. Davies,
Chief State Factory Inspector of Illinois.

Any intelligent discussion of the present situation in Illinois, with regard to child labor, must necessarily be prefaced by a brief retrospect and a comparison between present and past conditions.

While the Illinois Child Labor Law, by reason of the excellence of its provisions and the beneficent results accomplished under its enforcement, is generally known to students of the Child Labor problem, it would seem advisable at the outset to briefly recall its more salient features. The present Child Labor Law, which became effective July 1, 1903.

(1) Prohibits the employment of minors under the age of fourteen years.

(2) Abolishes night work for all minors under the age of sixteen years.

(3) Limits the employment of children to eight hours per day.

(4) Requires an educational test consisting of an ability to read and write legibly simple sentences, and provides that in the absence of such ability the child must go to night school if he wishes to be employed.

(5) Prohibits the employment of minors under the age of sixteen years in any occupation which may be considered hazardous or dangerous to the child, or which may injure its health or morals, and the law specifically prescribes what are considered hazardous and dangerous employments.

(6) It makes it unlawful for an employer to employ children under sixteen years of age in any place of amusement where intoxicating liquors are sold.

(7) It prohibits the employment of children under sixteen years of age on the theatrical stage after seven o'clock at night.

(8) It abolishes the notary public affidavit as means of procuring employment for children under sixteen.

(9) Provides that a fine of $5.00 to $25.00 be imposed upon any parent who permits a child to be employed contrary to the pro-

visions of the law, and that a fine of $5.00 to $100.00 be imposed upon any employer violating the law, such employer to stand committed until such fine and costs are paid. This, in brief, is the Illinois Child Labor Law.

What were the conditions in 1902, previous to the enactment of this law, and what are the conditions to-day?

	Inspections.	Total Employees.	Children.	Per cent. of Children to total Employees.
1908	84,997	720,203	9,925	1.3
1902	19,535	511,902	19,225	3.7
Increase	65,462	208,301		
Decrease			9,300	Child labor reduced over 52 per cent.

The following industries in Chicago show a remarkable decrease since 1902:

Industry	Children Employed 1902.	1908.	Percentage Decrease.
Glass	360	37	90
Bakeries	232	56	75
Cigars and cigarettes	167	28	88
Clothing	2641	1504	45
Paper box and bag.....	606	177	68
Laundry	280	59	80
Confections	434	147	66
Wood working	1474	374	75
Leather goods	468	41	89

It is interesting to know what the reduction in child labor has been in some of the different stores and factories in Chicago, and your attention is called to the following:

Name.	Children Employed 1901.	1908.
Boston Store	275	173
The Fair	500	420
Marshall Field & Co.....	227	152
A. M. Rothschild & Co.....	237	119
F. W. Rueckheim (candy factory)	181	95
National Biscuit Co.	304	3
American Can Co.	135	32
Swift and Company	86	45
Nelson Morris & Co.....	89	27
Libby-McNeil & Libby	74	0
Armour and Company	160	45

So much for Chicago. Now we will look to the territory outside of the city of Chicago and Cook County. To give an illustration of the reduction in child labor in the glass factories in Illinois I refer to the following: Illinois Glass Company, Alton, employed 377 children under the age of sixteen in 1901; to-day they employ 73. Adolphus Busch Glass Company, Belleville, employed 109 in 1901, and now employ eighty-two. Streator Bottle and Glass Company have ten children under sixteen in their employ now, while in 1901 there were 257. American Bottle Company, Streator, employ two children to-day, and in 1901 there were fifteen. Headly Glass Company, of Danville, now employ ten, and in 1904 they employed thirty. The above statistics are but a few of the many good results brought about through the enforcement of the law. In 1893 the percentage of children employed in Illinois was 8.2; the percentage has been reduced to 1.3. We make the statement, and we make it advisedly, that we have the lowest percentage of child labor of any state in the Union. In making this statement, I include not only factories and workshops, but every other character of places of employment, above and beneath the ground.

Child labor has been driven from the coal mines of Illinois. This was accomplished by my interpretation of the clause of the law governing hazardous employment—an interpretation that was combatted by the Coal Operators' Association. A test case was subsequently brought in the courts, in which I was sustained, and as a result 2,200 children were emancipated from a life of underground servitude. Consequently to-day no child under the age of sixteen can work in a coal mine in Illinois.

These results could not have been achieved if our efforts had been confined to moral suasion. Persuasion is a divine and beautiful thing, but the enforced law, with a penalty attached, is more effective, as you will see by the comparison of figures, as follows:

In 1893, the year the first child labor law was in force, it having taken effect July 1, of that year, there were 2,452 inspections, and of this number there were thirty-nine prosecutions for violation of the law.

In 1901, the year I took office, there were 18,913 inspections, or an increase of 16,461 over the year 1893, which is 87 per cent. Of this number there were 719 prosecutions, or an increase in prosecutions of 94 per cent.

In 1908 there were 84,997 inspections, or an increase over 1901 of 66,084, which is 77 per cent. The number of prosecutions for 1908 were 473, which is a decrease of 34 per cent. in prosecutions.

Thus our statistics show that, while our inspections have greatly increased, only 473 of this number (84,997) have been prosecuted, which demonstrates that employers are becoming educated and are complying with the law's requirements. Consequently, the law has been effective and has been of great protection to the children of our state. In 1901 there were forty-one children employed to every 1,000 employees; in 1908 there were thirteen children to every 1,000 employees.

Ours is the only department which has been able to report, during the past five or six years, the actual percentage of the children at work, because the Illinois Department of Factory Inspection covers every character of establishment in the state.

Perhaps the greatest benefit of the many achieved by the present law, is the effective prohibition against the employment of minors under the age of fourteen years. Under the old law thousands of small children were employed in the various industrial plants throughout the state, which employment defied the very laws of nature, and robbed these little ones of their birthright of childhood, while more fortunate children were enjoying the advantages of good homes, wholesome surroundings and careful nurture and education. Thousands of these little victims of child labor were daily offered as a sacrifice, either to the greed of the employer, or to the ignorance and inhumanity of their parents. Furthermore, many under the age of fourteen years were not only employed during the day, but hundreds were ofttimes compelled to work all night in glass factories and foundries and similar institutions, wearing away their young lives before the hot glare of furnaces and stunting their growth by the unnatural influences under which they were obliged to live and labor.

An enlightened conscience demanded, and obtained, the provision of the new law, providing that children between the ages of fourteen and sixteen years should not be permitted to work between the hours of seven o'clock p. m. and seven o'clock a. m.

The statute also recognized the justice of the claim of all friends of child labor legislation, that if eight hours was long enough for a man to work, it should also be long enough for a child

to work—at least, at arduous and incessant toil—which is the third important provision of the child labor law. The eight-hour clause of our law applies to every day and every month of the year. Some states permit the employment of children, without limit as to hours, but we protest that, as has been done in Illinois, childhood should be protected at *all* seasons—that the need of the child is greater than the exigency of the business. The child life is a consideration immeasurably more important than commercial gain brought about by the sacrifice of the child's life, health, morals and happiness.

The present child labor law, in force since July 1, 1903, strictly prohibits the employment of a boy or girl between the ages of fourteen and sixteen, at any occupation whatsoever, for more than eight hours a day.

Through my experience as the chief officer in enforcing the old, as well as the present law, I am somewhat inclined to believe that the interest of the minor could best be conserved if, in some of the lighter occupations, in which the work is not of a burdensome nature, the limitation on the hours might be changed, if the changing of the law could be made without affecting the constitutionality of the eight-hour provision.

There is great need of uniform laws governing child labor in the various states, not only for the better protection of children, but for the purpose of preventing the manufacturer in one state from having the advantage over a competitor in another state, because the laws governing child labor are different in the respective states. At present we have a diversity of laws. There is no uniformity of age limit, required number of weeks in school attendance, proof of age and educational test. There is also a lack in many states of that great spirit of humanity and benevolence that should place a restriction upon the hours of labor of children, and upon the employment of juvenile wage earners in hazardous vocations.

No child—native or foreign-born—should be permitted to go to work unless it is able to read and write in the English language, and can pass a reasonable educational test.

In the enactment of all child labor laws, employment should be prohibitive for any girl under the age of sixteen in any vocation where she is compelled to remain standing. The employment of minors at night should be absolutely prohibited.

The employment of children in theatres should be regulated,

and no girl under the age of eighten years should be permitted to be employed as a chorus girl, and no boy or girl under the age of eighteen years should be permitted to perform or be employed in any capacity in a concert hall, or place of amusement where intoxicating liquors are sold.

Factory inspectors should be endowed with greater police power. There are many establishments where employers are defiant, others who seek to evade the law on technicalities, and frequently the inspector will find a boy or girl employed at occupations where their lives and limbs are in danger, or where the child's health may be injured, and not infrequently we find them employed in places where their morals might be destroyed.

In all such instances the factory inspector should have authority to immediately remove the child from employment. And as the purposes of the law are constantly being defeated, because of the inability of the inspector to disprove the statement of the child and the employer that the child is of an age beyond the application of the law, it is essential that the statutes should provide that, in cases where dispute arises regarding the true age of a child found employed contrary to the law's provisions, the burden of proof of age should rest on the parent and on the employer, and not on the state. The employed should be required to prove the child of age, rather than the inspector to prove the child is under age.

It was but natural, in preparing the draft of the Illinois Child Labor Law, that its provisions should be made specially applicable to the employer of child labor; but in the desire to reach such employers who were the chief offenders, the disposition on the part of the parent and the child to evade the law and secure employment for the child, with its consequent income for the family, was in a large measure overlooked.

The result has been, that in a surprisingly great number of cases, which have come under my observation, many well-meaning employers have suffered injustice through the connivance of the parent with the child, in representing the child's age as sixteen, or above, when such child was under sixteen. Frequently the employer has been subjected to the penalties of the law, which should have been visited upon the conniving parent. It would be well if the child labor law could be so amended that it would protect the honest employer of labor, as well as the helpless children who are employed.

Under the present law, when a child signs an application for the purpose of securing employment, and states that he is sixteen years of age, and in many instances the parent indorses the statement, the employer has no legal means of protection. He has but few reliable means of ascertaining the correct age of the child, should he doubt the child's statement.

Unscrupulous parents have discovered this weakness in the law, and have taken advantage of it, to the injustice of the employer, deceiving him with regard to the child's age, with the result that the employer has been prosecuted, while the party guilty of an intentional violation of the law, the child, parent, guardian or custodian, has too often escaped. I have given this matter much thought, because I feel it is one of the most serious objections that can be properly raised regarding the present law, in its practical operation.

I am of the opinion that it would be well to amend the present child labor law, so that the well-meaning employer might protect himself against the cupidity of the child, its parent, guardian or custodian. There are numerous ways in which the law could be amended so as to accomplish this purpose. If the law were amended so as to require parents, guardians, or custodians of children, between the ages of sixteen and seventeen years, who are seeking employment, to secure a certificate as to the child's age before a Court of Record, we should have greatly improved the existing conditions.

Courts of Record exist in every county in the State, and there ought to be no reason why this plan could not be made to work admirably. The law should further provide that if the employer demands, and obtains of the child, a certificate from the Court of Record, certifying that the child is of the required age, and it later develops that the child is not of legal age, the employer shall not be held responsible or guilty of a violation of the law, but that the parent, guardian or custodian of such child, who files his application in the Court of Record for such certificate, and who furnishes the evidence of age upon which the certificate is issued, shall be deemed guilty of contempt of court; and that such parent, guardian or custodian may be summarily punished by the court by severe censure, fine or imprisonment, as for contempt of court. If such an amendment were secured and put in operation, and the courts

should vigorously enforce this provision, and punish the offending parents, guardians or custodians, either by censure, the imposition of a fine or light imprisonment, the practice of defying the purpose of the law, through the false statement of the child's age, would soon cease.

When, without the knowledge of the parent, guardian or custodian, a child misrepresents its age, in order to secure employment, I believe such child should be cited before the Juvenile or County Court, for correction and punishment, as the court may decide.

It is my opinion that every foreigner who has children should be compelled, upon arriving at our shores, to give the names and ages of all the children belonging to, or in the custody of, such immigrant, and that such immigrant should furnish to the immigration officer, proper birth records or other satisfactory evidence of the age of said children or dependents, and such immigrant should be obliged to secure from said immigration officer a proper certificate, testifying to such registration, which certificate should be kept by said immigrant at all times, as an evidence of his compliance with the Federal regulations.

One serious limitation in the scope of the Illinois Child Labor Law is its inapplicability to newsboys and girls, and other juvenile merchants who live in our streets. Our law does not apply to newsboys, because the courts hold that they are merchants in their own right. While I thoroughly believe that these street gamins are every bit as worthy of our most solicitous attention as are the children employed in the factories, I believe they should be given proper protection through the passage of a special statute covering the entire matter.

Laws of this kind have already been passed in some states, and I have prepared and presented to the last two sessions of our General Assembly a bill calculated to protect this class of child labor, but because of complicated difficulties at the time of the introduction of the bills, they have thus far failed of passage.

There has been criticism, not altogether without merit, that the legal limit in the employment of children should be based on the educational qualifications and physical fitness, rather than upon an arbitrary age. My experience has shown me that many firms who do not employ children under the age of sixteen years, employ them as soon as they become sixteen years of age, and such chil-

dren are then started at learning a trade as a common apprentice. Some change might be made as to certain classes of children above the age of fifteen years, qualified by a proper preliminary education and general physical fitness, so that they might be permitted to enter upon a proper apprenticeship, certain limitations applying, and learn a trade, though they might be within the arbitrary age limit now prescribed. In other words, children are not all alike as to physical and educational qualifications, or as to circumstances of life, and some account should be taken of these differences.

THE FORWARD STEP IN LOUISIANA

By Jean M. Gordon,
State Factory Inspector, New Orleans, La.

A few Sundays past I had the pleasure of hearing a very excellent sermon by Rabbi Saal, of St. Louis, in which he used the parable of the Good Samaritan to illustrate his point, and all the time he was applying it to his story I was applying it to the history of the child labor movement, putting in the place of the priest who saw the sick man, but passed by on the other side, the great organized Christian church, which, instead of bringing its united strength to bear upon this sickness of our present day civilization, passes by on the other side.

Again, as the story was told, I saw in place of the Levite, who also passed by on the other side, our great school system, with its splendid organization in every town and village and its great national and internationl influence, passing by on the other side instead of using its organization to make and enforce compulsory school attendance laws for the thousands of little ones who have been permitted to remain out of the schools, endangering our civilization through the illiteracy which is bound to result from such negligence.

And then I saw the National Child Labor Committee in the place of the Good Samaritan having compassion on these little ones and trying to lighten the burdens which an ignorant, selfish, self-satisfied, grasping community has laid upon our children. In thinking this question out it would seem that the organizations which had the care of the children should have been the forces which would have worked for their protection. The state, the school and the church should have been the Trinity to prevent this outrage against civilization and Christianity from ever having assumed its present proportions. The strongest reason which suggests itself to me for this lack of action is the fact that in the state, the school and the church the will of the women has not been given an opportunity to act.

Except through indirect methods the motherhood of the land has had no chance to protect what is dearer to her than all else. Had the state said it proposed to place citizenship above manufacturies, had the school said an educated community was better than fine raiment or houses, had the church followed the teachings of its Great Teacher, who threatened dire results to them who did any harm unto the least of these little ones, there would have been no need for such an association as we have here to-day. But that there is need, great need, of our association is being borne in upon me more and more each day I work as a factory inspector.

Louisiana took a forward step this past year, when through legislative act a fairly good Child Labor Law was passed, but already efforts are being made by one of our largest department stores to have the entire act declared unconstitutional, thereby to side-step our forward movement.

To one who went through those seven weks of pleading and arguing with men, most of them fathers, for a law to protect little children from the greed and neglect of those who should protect them, the merest hint that another fight is on makes the heart sick and faint, for the memory of that struggle is still fresh in our minds.

As usual, the cotton mills were the most powerful opponents, ably seconded by the canning industries. To hear the representatives of both industries, one, not knowing any better, would have been convinced that the most healthful, remunerative, educational place in the entire world in which to develop children was in a cotton mill or an oyster cannery. One fairly tingled to spend the rest of life shucking oysters or peeling shrimp.

A marvelous condition was unearthed when our Committee arrived at Baton Rouge. Our bill asked for a nine-hour work day for women and children, while another bill was introduced by the representatives of the Federation of Labor asking for a ten-hour day for women and children in mills and factory, while at the same time they introduced another bill asking for an eight-hour day for railway clerks. Of course, it is much harder work for grown men to sit in a comfortable office writing figures in a book than for women and children to stand all day watching six, eight, ten or even fifteen shuttles dashing back and forth,

getting snarled and tangled and taking many minutes to unravel, for which time lost there is no pay!

The battle raged around that nine-hour day. Finally both bills were sent to the Committee. Our bill was pigeon-holed, the Federation of Labor's bill was reported favorably with an amendment making the work day nine hours. This bill of the Federation of Labor was a striking illustration of a bill drawn in the interest of the manufacturer. In the first place, the word "mill" was conspicuous by its absence, there were absolutely no sanitary or safety regulations, and what was very significant, the penalty for any violations was so arranged that the enforcement was out of the jurisdiction of every court in the state. If that bill was drawn by a lawyer his *seeming* ignorance of the laws regulating the courts of his state should be sufficient reason to deprive him of his license, if written by a member of the House, the state should have the right to ask for his resignation—for any one so absolutely ignorant of the requirements necessary has no right to a voice in the making of laws regulating the life and health of thousands of members of society, especially that part of society whom the state does not permit to protect themselves.

Finally a compromise was effected whereby our Committee waived the nine-hour day in return for some of the provisions contained in our original bill, and on the promise of the Governor that a conference of the Governors of all the Southern states, the manufacturers, the labor organizations and representatives from the Women's Clubs would be called to agree upon a uniform work day. It gives me great pleasure to announce to this Committee that the conference will be called as soon after the Mardi Gras festivities as possible—sometime in March, I think. This compromise bill was won by just the requisite number of votes in each branch of the legislature. In the Senate we needed twenty-one votes and we got twenty-one—in the House we needed fifty-eight and we got fifty-eight. It was the most bitterly fought, longest contested bill before the legislature. It went in among the very first, and came out next to the last. In all those seven weeks a few men and women sat by the side of their very sick hope, working and talking and pleading until sometimes the very soul revolted against a state of society where it was very evident a dollar counted for more than the souls and bodies of helpless women and little children.

The results under this law are most gratifying. There is a marked change in the appearance of the children going to work; especially is this the case with the messenger boys—they are much larger and stronger looking. I want to say to the credit of our business men in New Orleans the response has been most hearty. Already we have issued 3600 certificates. The greatest trouble in getting at the correct age of the child is among the Italians. They are flocking to Louisiana by the thousands, bringing with them their dishonest methods, born into them for generations. They swear they have lost their passports, they give the wrong towns in Sicily, so it is impossible to trace their birth record. I have wondered if it would be possible to get an amendment to the immigration laws, requiring the authorities to send a list of all children under fourteen years arriving in this country to the state Factory Inspector, and from there a list be sent to each deputy inspector. I should like this point discussed.

We have several very excellent provisions in our bill. Our age certificate is all right, I know, because next to the nine-hour day it was the most bitterly fought. Another provision makes it a penalty for any employee to give warning of the approach of the inspector. Another makes it *prima facie* evidence of guilt for any child under fourteen to be seen hanging around the establishment. The bill covers every occupation but domestic and agricultural service and newsboys. Altogether we won a good bill, by a good fight, and it will take a good fight to deprive us of it. There are several men and women in Louisiana who have served long apprenticeships in charitable organizations, and we intend to prevent the need of a great deal of our present-day philanthropy by stopping the supply, and, in my opinion, child labor is one of the most fruitful sources of the need of charity.

THE DIFFICULTIES OF CHILD-LABOR LEGISLATION IN A SOUTHERN STATE

By Hon. James R. McDowell,
Jackson, Miss.

In the discussion of the subject assigned me, I shall, of necessity, confine myself principally to the recital of those difficulties which confronted the advocates of such legislation in Mississippi during the past few years, and especially during the session of the state legislature a year ago. The National Committee has from time to time been advised of the status of child-labor legislation in other Southern states by those familiar with the subject, by reason of having personal knowledge of the many difficulties they have themselves encountered. Since Mississippi is the only Southern state to which my personal knowledge extends, I shall not attempt to discuss the situation in any other state; and since the enactment of such a law in Mississippi is recent in point of time, it may be of interest to members of the National Committee and others to be advised of some of the experiences of those of us who took a hand in the fight for the protection of the children of our state.

Mississippi is the last state in the Union to enact a child-labor law, except Oklahoma and Nevada, and be it said to the credit of Oklahoma, the legislature of that state, at its first session, enacted such a statute, but it was vetoed. The necessity for such a statute in Mississippi is not so great as in many of her sister states, principally because there are so few children employed at work which is injurious to them. There are no mines; no glass factories; no sweat shops; less than twenty cotton and woolen mills, and not more than half a dozen canning factories in which child labor is employed. There are no large cities in the state and consequently few paupers. Thus the evil is reduced to a minimum, and this condition is no doubt responsible for the long delay in the enactment of suitable statutes for the protection of helpless childhood. Public sentiment was not aroused to the magnitude of the child-labor evil throughout the country, because the people were not advised and did not have the matter brought directly home to them in many parts

of the state. It has been through the persistent efforts of the several organizations in charge of the campaign in Mississippi that public conscience has been awakened to the necessity of a law which would prevent children of the state from suffering because of neglect on the part of the legislature to properly protect them. This, then, was the first great difficulty encountered, and it took many years of earnest and persistent labor to arouse sufficient interest in the cause to wage a winning fight. The credit for the work is due principally to the good women of Mississippi, through whose efforts the importance of enacting child-labor laws has been brought before the public mind.

After the fight had assumed sufficient proportions, bills were introduced into the state legislature to prohibit children of tender years from being employed in factories. Members of the legislature were, however, not sufficiently advised of the importance of the measure, and those who hailed from mill towns were so bitter in their opposition that for several sessions all efforts were unsuccessful. At the session of 1908, however, many legislators had announced in advance of the convening of the legislature that they would support a child-labor bill. Literature was forwarded to them giving statistics in other states, and the secretary for the Southern States made a personal visit to Mississippi and sent a special agent to the various cotton mills to procure data for use before the legislature, so that when the hour of battle arrived the advocates of child-labor legislation found themselves equipped and armed with facts. In spite of the lobby which had always been maintained by the mill interests, and in spite of the stubborn opposition which followed the introduction of the bill, the members of the legislature who opposed it seemed to be unadvised on many of the important points under discussion.

The Opposition

It was my privilege to draft the bill. It was introduced early in the session and required the persistent efforts of those interested in its passage to keep it from being unfavorably acted on in committee, since the mill interests kept representatives at the capital constantly, who on several occasions appeared before the committee to present their side of the question and to argue what they claimed would be an injustice and hardship to the mills and families em-

ployed therein. Not only did these men appear before the committee, but they talked with members of the legislature whenever the opportunity presented, and endeavored to persuade them that business interests would be injured and the mills subjected to a heavy loss if deprived of the labor of the children. They seemed forgetful of the fact that the state owed a greater duty to the children than to any moneyed corporation within its borders. They seemed to forget that the health, education and moral training of children was of more importance than dividends of stockholders in factories where these children spent their lives. Just as in the commercial world the dollar is the unit of value, so in the body politic the child is the unit of value, and upon the soundness of the child depends the future of the state and nation.

In most instances, the mill interests secured the support and influence of the local representatives, this being due no doubt to a feeling on the part of the legislators that great damage would result if poor children were forced out of employment. Perhaps they also feared that the advocacy by them of child-labor legislation might not be approved at home and that their course would meet with condemnation by the influential citizens of their respective counties, many of whom were interested in the mills. They may have feared also that children thus thrown out of work would become a charge upon charity, or that a dependent parent might, by the loss of the child's wages, suffer for the necessities of life. They seemed to forget that their first duty was the protection of the small children, whose property is so well protected by the laws of the state, but whose physical, mental and moral welfare has been without the protection of the law. They seemed to forget that no one ever died of starvation in Mississippi. They seemed to forget also that no community has ever permitted a deserving woman or child long to want for the necessities of life.

The only argument we could use against the contention of the mill owners was to take the high ground of justice and right, and appeal to the humanity of the legislature. Even then we were met with the proposition that the children and their families were better off in the mills, and that it was to their interest to be allowed to remain in the employ of factories without restriction. We were also met with the proposition that the state should not interfere with a parent's right to control his own child. In this latter

contention, however, we had no trouble in convincing the members of the legislature not only that they had the right, but that it was their duty in many instances to do so. It is the duty of the state to save the child, not only from corporate greed, but from its own parent, if necessary.

Compromise rather than Defeat

After having obtained a favorable recommendation from the committee, when the bill was called for passage it was very bitterly assailed, and a motion to re-commit was carried after a discussion of certain features most strongly attacked by its opponents. After recommitment a subcommittee was appointed, and I appeared before this subcommittee and decided to make certain concessions by way of compromise rather than risk a defeat of the bill, since the vote was very close; and I had hopes that two or three members who had opposed the bill when first offered would support a compromise measure. In this conclusion I was correct. Practically the only concessions made were to change the age limit from fourteen to twelve years and the elimination of that feature of the bill requiring employees under the age of sixteen years to have attended school for a portion of each year in which they accepted employment in factories. The bill then came up for final passage in the senate. The mill interests were strongly intrenched, having a number of their representatives on hand. When the bill was called section by section for passage, amendments were offered to almost every section in an effort to get the bill so amended that it would be of no service whatever, or unacceptable to its own advocates. The hackneyed provision with reference to "invalid fathers, widowed mothers and orphan children" was offered, but defeated by a close margin.

Then came a fight on the number of hours per day which the children should be permitted to work. Following the recommendation of the Nashville Conference of 1907, I had agreed on a ten-hour day, though personally I preferred to see an eight-hour limit inserted. Even a ten-hour day was opposed on the ground that the mills should be allowed to use their own discretion as to the number of hours of employment. They objected to any regulation whatever in the number of hours of employment per day, but were willing to accept a sixty-three hour week. The bill, however, finally

passed with a provision restricting a day's employment to ten hours, fixing a fifty-eight hour limit per week. Night work of children under sixteen years of age is prohibited, and applicants under that age required to furnish a certificate from their parents showing their age and educational advantages, and one from the county health officer showing their physical condition. The enforcement of the law will necessarily be somewhat handicapped by reason of the fact that no provision was made for the appointment of a factory inspector, this duty having been assigned to the sheriff of the county where the mill is located, and to the county health officer. It was thought useless to ask the creation of a special office of factory inspector, because there were so few mills in the state where child labor is employed, and so few children employed therein, that the duty could be performed with less expense and with almost as great efficiency as by a special officer.

After the bill was sent to the house of representatives, the fight was renewed. The mill interests feared to have the bill called on the calendar, since its passage was practically assured if it ever came to a vote. Dilatory tactics were adopted, and it was some time before the matter was taken up in committee. The committee set a date for hearing objections to the bill, and after arguments on both sides had been heard, recommended the bill just as it came from the senate, except that a sixty-hour week was fixed, with no regulation as to a day's employment for children under sixteen years. This amendment was defeated on the floor of the house, and the bill was passed on the day before adjourment, and received the Governor's signature on the last day of the session.

Continued Opposition to the Law

The statute went into operation October 1, 1908, and I am advised that the various mills have regulated their schedules so as to come within the pale of the law. The mill owners, however, have not been silent in their protests since the enactment of the law, but have announced their determination to fight for its repeal or modification at the next session of the legislature. So it will be seen that not only were we confronted with difficulties in the passage of the law, but we must keep it on the statute books over the protests of the manufacturers. This we believe we can do, as the more the question is agitated, the greater will the interest in the welfare

of the children become. When the issue is clearly defined, and becomes in reality a battle between the dollar and the child, the people of Mississippi, as well as those of every other Southern state, will respond to the cry which comes to them from helpless children, unable to protect themselves from slavery of body, dwarfing of mind and neglect of soul. The people of Mississippi have the Anglo-Saxon pride of race which will not deny to struggling children an opportunity to acquire strength of body, development of mind and expansion of soul necessary to fit them to become strong and influential citizens, the fathers and mothers of future generations.

This movement has been frequently characterized as fanatical. It has been said that it is the work of women and preachers. If this be true, then all the more credit is due the good women and preachers who have undertaken such an unselfish work, and have fought such a winning fight. God pity the woman whose heart is not touched by the cry of a child; God pity the child of such a woman; God pity the minister who has forgotten the words of the Master, "Suffer little children to come unto Me."

Reports from State and Local Child Labor Committees[1]

KENTUCKY CHILD LABOR ASSOCIATION.

The Kentucky Child Labor Association was organized in February, 1907. Its declared purposes were the collection and dissemination of information concerning the working children of Kentucky, the cultivation of a public opinion favorable to a reasonable regulation of child labor and the proposal of measures for such regulation by government. It was contemplated that its activity should be state-wide. In this respect the hopes of its promoters have been, up to this time, only partially fulfilled. In Louisville, which is the chief industrial city of the state, its organization has been thorough and its influence considerable. In other parts of the state it cannot be said to have exerted any marked influence, except through the passage of the Child Labor Law, hereafter described, which is, of course, applicable to the entire state.

The law of Kentucky in force when this association was organized (Act of March 17, 1906), may be summarized as follows:

Act of March 17th, 1906.

Children Affected. Class I, children under fourteen; Class II, children between fourteen and sixteen.

Employments Prohibited. To Class I (under fourteen): (a) At all times, employment "in any factory, workshop, mill or mine." (b) During school term, employment "in any mercantile establishment, in any service of any telegraph, telephone or public messenger company, laundry, or printing establishment."

To Class II (between fourteen and sixteen): Employment "at any occupation dangerous or injurious to health or morals."

Exception. As to children under fourteen years, the following proviso was added to the prohibition: "unless said children shall have no other means of support." This clause was interpreted as reserving to each county judge in the state the power which he had possessed under an earlier law, to grant a "permit" authorizing the employment of a child under fourteen in cases where he was satisfied by proofs submitted to him that the earnings of the child were absolutely necessary to the support of the family.

Hours of Work. Children under sixteen: "In any manufacturing establishment, mine, mill or work-shop," no such child could work "after 7 o'clock in the evening or before 6 o'clock in the morning", nor more than ten hours in one day or sixty hours in one week.

Penalties. For any violation a fine of not more than $50.00 for the first offense and not more than $200.00 for any subsequent offense.

[1]For the report from the Illinois Child Labor Committee, see the statement of the Secretary, Mrs. H. M. Van der Vaart, page 214.

Proof of Age. Affidavit by parent or guardian; if neither, affidavit by the child.

Investigation. Right of visitation given Labor Inspector; "Inquisitorial" powers of investigation given to Grand Jury. The act contained the usual sanitary regulations.

Defects in the Old Law.

The two chief evils which were developed in the practical application of this law were, first, the abuse by parents of the power given the county judge to make an exception to the prohibition by the issuance of the "permit"; and, second, the utter breakdown of the method provided for proving the age of applicants for employment. A careful investigation, extending over a period of one year, disclosed an appalling amount of perjury and fraud on the part of parents who sought to put at work little children upon the false pretext of family necessity. A similar investigation showed that, in securing employment for children, the practice of swearing to a greater age than the child had really attained was very common. How these faults were attempted to be remedied by the new law appears in the following synopsis of that law.

Child Labor Act of March 16th, 1908.

Employments Prohibited. Section One.—Children under fourteen not to be employed: (a) "In any business or service" during the term of the schools in the district wherein the child resides; (b) Nor at any time in, nor in connection with any factory, workshop, mine, mercantile establishment, store, business office, telegraph office, restaurant, hotel, apartment house, or in the distribution or transmission of merchandise or messages.

Section Two.—Children between fourteen and sixteen not to be employed in any factory, workshop, mine, or mercantile establishment until they have obtained an employment certificate.

Employment Certificates. Section Three.—Employment certificates to be issued by school authorities (superintendent, if any).

How Obtained. Sections Four and Six.—Preliminaries to issuance of employment certificate are:

1. Proof of age (*i. e.,* proof of date and place of birth).

2. Filing of "school record"; *i. e.,* a certificate from the principal of the school last attended that the child has been at school for one hundred days in year next before reaching fourteen, or next before the application for the employment certificate; that he can read and write simple English sentences; and that he has had instruction in geography and the simple parts of arithmetic (*i. e.,* through common fractions). If school record is not obtainable, an examination on these points may take its place.

Contents. Section Five.—Employment certificates shall state:

1. Date and place of birth of child.

2. Color of hair and eyes, height and weight.

3. That the required preliminaries (Sections 4 and 6, *supra*) have been observed.

Record. Section Seven.—School Board to furnish Labor Inspector monthly with list of certificates issued.

Hours of Work. Section Eight.—(a) Children under sixteen not to work longer than ten hours a day, nor longer than sixty hours a week. (b) Hours of work for such persons, to begin not sooner than 7 a. m., nor to continue later than 7 p. m. , (c) Printed notice of hours of labor to be conspicuously posted.

Penalties. Sections Nine and Eighteen.

I. Against Employers.

(a) For the first violation of this Act, a fine of $25.00 to $50.00.

(b) For each subsequent offense, imprisonment (10 to 90 days) or fine ($50.00 to $200.00) or both.

(c) For continuing an illegal employment after notice from Truant Officer or Labor Inspector, a fine of $5.00 to $20.00.

(d) For failure to surrender certificates when demanded, $10.00 fine.

II. Against Parents or Guardians.

(a) For permitting a child under their control to be illegally employed, a fine of $25.00 to $50.00 for the first offense.

(b) For each subsequent offense, imprisonment (10 to 90 days) or fine ($50.00 to $200.00) or both.

III. Against Officers Issuing Certificates.

For a known false statement, $10.00 to $100.00 fine.

Visitation. Section Ten.—Right of visitation given Truant Officers and Labor Inspector.

Sanitary Regulations. Section Eleven.—Certain employments, dangerous to health or life, forbidden to children under sixteen.

Sections Twelve, Thirteen, Fourteen and Fifteen.—These contain sanitary regulations for establishments where children under sixteen are employed.

Prosecutions. Section Sixteen.—Inquisitorial powers for investigating violations of this Act given to Grand Juries, County and Circuit Judges.

Section Seventeen.—Copy of this Act to be conspicuously posted.

When the Act Becomes Effective. Section Nineteen.—Act to go into effect September 1, 1908, except that the requirement of a "school record," or in default thereof, an examination, shall not be effective until September 1, 1909.

Objections to the Passage of this Act.

1. That it would throw out of employment more children than the existing schools could accommodate.

2. That it would make loafers of many children who, having had no schooling at all, could not be expected at the age of thirteen or fourteen or fifteen to enter classes with children who were four or five or six years younger than themselves.

3. That the penalties were too heavy and particularly that the penalty of imprisonment was unnecessarily offensive.

4. That the requirement that children should not be employed after 7 p. m. would necessitate discharge of large numbers of children from retail stores where, on Saturday evening particularly, work must continue to a later hour.

5. That the educational test was too severe, even for children who had attended school up to their fourteenth year.

6. That the office of the school superintendent would be overwhelmed by the additional duties imposed upon him.

Operation of the Act.

In order to meet the objections last named and those which had to do with the educational test, it was provided that no part of the Act should go into effect until September 1, 1908, and that the application of the educational test should not be made until September 1, 1909. Out of deference to the wishes of the employers, the Kentucky Child Labor Association consented to two amendments of the bill, which had already been introduced. These amendments permitted the employment of children between fourteen and sixteen until ten o'clock on Saturday night and eliminated the penalty of imprisonment. The legislature, however, would not consent to these amendments, but passed the bill in its original form.

The predictions of the opponents of the bill have not been fulfilled. Unquestionably some children have lost employment which they would otherwise have retained, but in no case which has been brought to our attention has this resulted in any serious or irremediable distress. On the other hand, it can safely be asserted that this result has, in nearly every instance, been of great benefit to the children. Here and there an employer has been found who has refused to retain or employ any children under sixteen, upon the plea that he did not want to "take any chances" or desired to avoid the trouble of seeing that the children had proper certificates. These cases have, however, been very few.

The point at which it was expected that the effect of the Act would most clearly appear was in the attendance on the public schools in Louisville. The same legislature which passed the Child Labor Bill also passed a new compulsory education law, by which a more numerous corps of truant officers was obtained and its duties more clearly defined. It was naturally anticipated that the joint operation of these two acts would be to increase the school attendance. The facts are as follows:

The school census shows that there are 65,000 children of "school age" in Louisville; that is to say, children between six and twenty years of age, all of whom are entitled to attend the public schools if they so desire. Of these, 35,680 are between the ages of six and fourteen, and therefore prohibited from working by the new law. A comparison of the enrollment of the public schools and the average daily attendance for the months of September, October, November and December, in the years 1906, 1907 and 1908, is as follows:

TABLE I, ALL SCHOOLS.

September.	1906.	1907.	1908.	Increase 1908 over 1907.
Enrollment	26,109	26,155	26,216	61
Attendance	22,707	22,652	23,525	873
October.				
Enrollment	27,609	27,231	27,103	—128
Attendance	24,131	24,118	24,325	207
November.				
Enrollment	28,199	27,686	27,103	—583
Attendance	24,193	23,505	24,110	605
December.				
Enrollment	28,447	27,887	27,756	—131
Attendance	23,826	23,274	23,718	444

TABLE II, HIGH SCHOOLS (5) ONLY.

	1906.	1907.	1908.	Increase 1908 over 1907.
Enrollment	2,692	2,813	2,516	—297
Average Daily Attendance.				
September	2,202	2,243	2,218	—25
October	2,548	2,352	2,287	—65
November	2,301	2,340	2,147	—193
December	2,151	2,296	2,214	—82

TABLE III, DISTRICT SCHOOLS ONLY.

Enrollment.	1906.	1907.	1908.	Increase 1908 over 1907.
December	25,755	25,074	25,240	166
Average Daily Attendance.				
September	20,505	20,409	21,307	898
October	21,583	21,766	22,038	272
November	21,892	21,165	21,963	798
December	21,675	20,978	21,504	526

The first noticeable thing in this tedious parade of figures is the falling off in enrollment, both in 1907 and 1908, from the 1906 enrollment. This is attributed to the late commercial unpleasantness which began in the Fall of 1907. It is believed by the superintendent of schools that many children were taken from school and put to work in order to help support the family at a time when the father of the family was either out of employment or working at reduced wages. The second noticeable thing is that, in the comparison between 1907 and 1908, whereas there is a falling off both in enrollment and attendance in the high schools, there is a slight increase in enrollment and a marked increase in attendance in the district schools where, of course, the effect of the Child Labor and Truancy Laws would be felt. This, we think, may fairly be attributed to the joint operation of these laws. The reports of the Labor Inspector, the Truant Officers

and the agents of the charity organizations agree in stating that there are very few children under the age of fourteen who are not at school. The official figures do not bear these statements out.

As to these children the figures are as follows:

TABLE IV.

Children Between Six and Fourteen.

School census		35,680
Enrolled in District Schools	25,240	
Subtract children over fourteen in District Schools	3,673	
	21,567	
Add children under fourteen in High Schools	184	
	21,751	
Children enrolled in Parochial Schools	7,988	
Children enrolled in Private Schools	200	
		29,939
Children (six to fourteen) not in school		5,741
Children (seven to fourteen) not in school		4,781

Thus the enrollment in all schools is almost 6,000 below the census. The average daily attendance would fall more than 3,000 lower still; but this does not indicate that 9,000 children are regularly out of school. It will be observed that the average daily attendance is from eighty-five to eighty-eight per cent. of the enrollment. The Superintendent of Public Schools advises us that not more than one-sixth of this discrepancy is due to chronic truancy, five-sixths being attributable to sickness and those other domestic disorders which occasionally bring about an absence of a day or two from school. We cannot view with any complacency the working of an anti-truancy system which lets escape seventeen children out of each one hundred. We shall make a better report next year.

Attendance of Children Between Fourteen and Sixteen.

To date (January 20, 1909), the Superintendent of Public Schools in Louisville has issued 1,508 employment certificates. The school census shows that there are in Louisville 8,567 children between the ages of fourteen and sixteen. Of this number, 3,673 are still in the district schools (as distinguished from the High Schools), although the average age of graduation from the eighth grade (next below the High Schools) is thirteen and one-half years. The enrollment in the High Schools is (in round figures) 2,500, of which number 184 are under fourteen. Of children of this age there are enrolled in parochial and private schools of this city about 500. This makes the following showing:

TABLE V.

Children Between Fourteen and Sixteen.

School census		8,567
Enrolled in District Schools	3,673	
Enrolled in High Schools	2,332	
Enrolled in Parochial Schools	332	
Enrolled in Private Schools	160	
		6,497
Children between fourteen and sixteen, not at school		2,070
Children holding employment certificates		1,508
		562

This remainder (562) represents the children in Louisville, between fourteen and sixteen, who are not at school and are either loafing or working without certificates. Now it is not, in all cases, unlawful for a child, although under sixteen, to work without a certificate.

The New Child Labor Act says that no child between fourteen and sixteen shall work "in any factory, workshop, mine or mercantile establishment" without a certificate. The Attorney General of the state has held that this means that in the other employments prohibited to children under fourteen, no certificate is required of children between fourteen and sixteen. Those other employments are "any business office, telegraph office, restaurant, hotel, apartment house, or the distribution or transmissions of merchandise or messages."

This circumstance makes it impossible for us to know exactly how many of the 562 children who are not at school and do not hold certificates, are loafing and how many are working. Of this number we suppose that 200 or 300 are engaged in employments for which no certificate is required. If this assumption is not wide of the mark, there remain 200 or 300 children of this age who are either loafing or working unlawfully. We submit that this is a better record for our Labor Inspector than that shown by the Truant Officers. He leaves only 200 or 300 children unaccounted for, whereas the Truant Officers have almost 6000 of whom they can give no account. It is of course probable that some of those 6000 are at work, and this must of course be put on the debit side of the Labor Inspector's account.

The Christmas Trade.

The rush of business in retail stores, which everywhere characterizes the Christmas holidays, brought out in its acutest form the difficulty with reference to the employment of children after seven o'clock in the evening. Our very competent Labor Inspector, in view of the newness of the regulation, and in pursuance of his excellent plan of securing a general acquiescence by a process of friendly co-operation with the employers rather than by a rigorous enforcement of penalties, took the position that he

would not institute prosecutions, as he had done under other circumstances, for slight infractions of the law during the Christmas rush.

We have had made an investigation of the conduct of the large retail dry goods stores in Louisville during Christmas week. Four of them employed no children under sixteen more than ten hours a day; that is to say, strictly complied with the law. Two employed older girls and boys to wrap and deliver bundles after seven o'clock. Two of these employed older boys to deliver bundles after that hour and had the wrapping done by their regular force of clerks. Two concerns required their employees who were under sixteen to work until ten o'clock on each of the five evenings preceding Christmas; that is to say, they openly violated the law. One of these establishments served its employees with hot lunches and supper on every day in the holiday week. One of them gave meal tickets for both lunch and supper on every day in that week. One of them served a supper to its employees on Christmas Eve. One served its employees with hot coffee each evening during that week; one of the two which kept its children at work until ten o'clock made no such provision at all. All of these stores, during Christmas week, allowed thirty minutes for lunch and one hour for supper.

Investigation and Relief.

Before the Kentucky Child Labor Association came into existence and while that law was in force which permitted the County Judge to issue "permits" to children under fourteen, the Consumers' League, of Louisville, had established a "Scholarship Fund." This was managed in the following manner. All applications to the County Court for "permits" were reported to a Committee of the Consumers' League, and by them an investigation into the merit of the application was undertaken. If the family to which the applicant belonged was discovered to be worthy and in great necessity, the Consumers' League entered into an undertaking with the County Judge that, if he would refuse the application and so require the child to remain in school, the league would pay to the child's family, so long as it was needed, a weekly sum equal to what the child would earn if at work. This work was later undertaken by the Kentucky Child Labor Association. When the new Child Labor Act went into effect, it wiped out that line of classification according to which this aid had been given, because there was no longer any power to grant permits. Since all children under fourteen must now go to school, and none can go to work, all cases of want or distress fell into a general class calling for relief by those organizations devoted to that purpose. However, partly through the mere persistence of a habit and partly from a sense of obligation to see that the new law did not produce the distress which its opponents predicted, the Association has continued this work. During the months of October, November and December, 1908, its Committee on Investigation and Relief, upon reports made to it by the Truant Officers, visited 100 homes and made a careful investigation of the conditions. To many of these children shoes and

clothing were given which enabled them to go to school. In some cases "Scholarships" were awarded; that is to say, a weekly payment of from one to three dollars was made to the family. These payments are not continued indefinitely, but every effort is made to put the family in the way to be self-supporting. Situations were sometimes found for other members of the family, and in the majority of such cases the scholarship payments were stopped. When the child receiving the scholarship attains the age of fourteen, some employment is found for him or her, unless the child is enabled to stay at school by means of some other provision for the family. The largest sum paid to any one child since this work was undertaken by the Association is $48.00.

It is not expected that the Association will continue this work indefinitely, but is expected that it will gradually be assumed by other agencies better equipped both for making the investigation and providing the relief.

Outlook.

We anticipate that new and larger difficulties await us. So far we have not had to deal with the results of the application of an educational test. This part of our law will go into effect on September 1, 1909. It cannot confidently be predicted what its effect will be. The Superintendent of the Public Schools reports as follows with reference to certificates heretofore issued.

"The applicants as a rule come from a class that should have much more education than they now have. I have been compelled to issue certificates to a number of applicants who could neither read nor write. Many more had gone no higher than the third or fourth grade in Public School work. Unfortunately the Compulsory Attendance Law will not reach children of the ages covered by the Child Labor Law. If it had I should have compelled many children to go to school to whom I issued certificates."

And he adds, "I anticipate that during the next vacation and before September 1st, that great difficulty will arise about renewing a great many of the certificates, for I am convinced that fully one-third of the permits that have been granted cannot be re-issued on educational qualifications."

The educational test which it is thus asserted could not be satisfied by one-third of the children to whom certificates have been issued, requires that the applicant shall be "able to read and write simple sentences in the English language, and" shall have "received instruction in reading, spelling, writing and geography and" shall be "familiar with the fundamental operations of arithmetic, up to and including common fractions." It appears at a glance that this does not demand a very high order of scholarship. The requirement is more than satisfied by the training received by a child who has gone through the fifth grade in the Louisville Public Schools, a stage which the average child reaches at the age of ten. The average of completing the eighth grade in Louisville (next below the High Schools), is thirteen, or thirteen and a half, and such children have learned not only to read and write and do their sums, but have completed the study of

English grammar, arithmetic, geography, history of the United States and of Kentucky, and have had some instruction in physiology and hygiene, in music, in drawing, and one year of algebra.

Of course many of these children will have reached the age of sixteen when the educational test becomes effective; but many of them will not have done so and doubtless a new crop of illiterates will come on to take their places. This would not be so if the Compulsory Education Law were strictly enforced.

It is, of course, probable that the application of this test will produce some inconvenience and hardship. If it did not do that it would probably fail of its purpose. You cannot get the wagon out of the old rut without administering some jolts. We hope to jolt it just enough to wake up some of the occupants without inflicting any serious or permanent injury.

Our experience under the Child Labor Act has been too short to warrant any emphatic expression of opinion as to any faults in the law. We are, however, keeping an eye on these points:

1. More inspectors.
2. Assistance to the school superintendent in the labor of issuing certificates.
3. Greater freedom in the matter of vacation work.
4. Perhaps the authorization of some sorts of work out of school hours.
5. Raising the Compulsory School Attendance age to sixteen.

LAFON ALLEN,
President.

MAINE CHILD LABOR COMMITTEE.

There is nothing new that I can report for the Maine Child Labor Committee as to laws, since our legislature meets biennially. The legislature is now in session. We have introduced a bill in the senate asking for an educational test for all children between the ages of fourteen and fifteen years who desire to work during school hours, this to be in charge of the school superintendents under the state superintendent, who issues the certificates. The bill calls for a fifty-eight hour law for women and minors under sixteen years of age, prohibits night work for minors under sixteen from 7 p. m. to 6 a. m. in all manufacturing, mechanical and mercantile establishments, the messenger service and street trades. How much we shall be able to carry remains to be seen. We have had one hearing, which developed the bitterest opposition. Another hearing will be held February 17th, when the shoe makers and woolen manufacturers are to oppose us. The members of our committee are doing strenuous work. It is all a labor of love. We have no money. Everyone pays his own bills and gives his services, but so far we have had plenty of help. If we can only convince "the powers that be" that right will prevail in spite of the money power, we shall win out.

ELLA JORDAN MASON,
Secretary.

MARYLAND CHILD LABOR COMMITTEE.

The Maryland Child Labor Committee was reorganized in November, 1908, and a Council of Fifty was elected.

From these were chosen a Chairman, Douglas M. Wylie; Treasurer, De-Courcy W. Thom; Secretary, Joseph C. Judge; and these three officers, with two members at large, Dr. George E. Barnett and Miss Catherine M. McLane, constitute an Executive Committee for the current year.

A Finance Committee, consisting of Robert Garrett, Chairman; Dr. Jacob H. Hollander, Mrs. B. W. Corkran, Jr., Mrs. T. B. Harrison and Dr. T. R. Hooker, has in hand the collection of a guarantee fund for a proposed campaign of education with the hope that when the next Legislature meets in 1910 public opinion may secure at least a better enforcement of the present law, even with its unsatisfactory twelve-year limit.

The execution of the Maryland child labor law is in the hands of the State Bureau of Industrial Statistics. The present chief of the bureau is a political appointment, being also Chairman of the Democratic Committee for Baltimore County. Most of the inspectors are inefficient, and the general conduct of the bureau is not what the people have a right to demand.

The chief requirements of the law in this state at present are as follows:

Children under the age of twelve years are prohibited from securing employment, except in the counties, from June 1 to October 15.

Between ages of twelve and sixteen, only those who secure an employment permit are permitted to work in any office, establishment or other place of business. These permits are issued by the Bureau of Statistics and Information in Baltimore City, and by the Board of Health or principal Health Officer in the counties, only to such children as can give satisfactory evidence of normal mental and physical development, can read at sight and write legibly simple sentences in the English language, and is physically able to perform the work which he or she intends to do. Fines of from five to fifty dollars are provided as penalties for the violation of this law by employer, parents or guardian. Enforcement of the law is lodged in the hands of the Bureau of Statistics and Information in Baltimore. Farm labor is excluded from the provisions of the child labor law.

JOSEPH C. JUDGE,
Secretary.

MASSACHUSETTS CHILD LABOR COMMITTEE.

The Massachusetts Child Labor Committee was organized November 28, 1908, at a meeting called by E. W. Lord. Hon Curtis Guild, Jr., Governor of Massachusetts, acted as chairman. The speakers were President Charles W. Eliot, Governor Guild and Meyer Bloomfield. A constitution was adopted, naming thirty-three active members and providing for as many associate members as can be secured. The plan of the committee is to spend a year in investigating the conditions of child labor in Massachusetts and in

preparing and working for a model child labor law. This, it believes, should precede any active support of child labor legislation. An executive committee of eight and the officers are beginning the work of organization and investigation. The officers are: Chairman, Hon. Grafton D. Cushing; Vice-Chairman, Hon. Frank Leveroni; Treasurer, Professor Charles F. Bradley; Secretary, Richard K. Conant; Executive Committee, Henry Abrahams, Miss Georgie A. Bacon, Meyer Bloomfield, Howard W. Brown, Miss Alice L. Higgins, Miss Edith M. Howes, Mrs. Mary Morton Kehew and Everett W. Lord.

RICHARD K. CONANT,
Secretary.

MICHIGAN CHILD LABOR COMMITTEE.

The Michigan Child Labor Committee has been instrumental in introducing a bill, now before the state legislature, changing and improving the present law in regard to the employment of children. If this bill is passed, without bad amendments, Michigan will have a fairly good law. The State Federation of Women's Clubs and organized labor are aiding this committee.

FRANK T. CARLTON,
Secretary.

INTER-CHURCH CHILD LABOR COMMITTEE OF GRAND RAPIDS, MICHIGAN.

The Inter-Church Child Labor Committee of Grand Rapids, Michigan, has held regular meetings on the last Monday of each month, except during the summer.

Many interesting topics have been discussed, including "Work in the Soft Coal Mines of Pennsylvania," "Sweatshops and Tenements," "The Michigan Labor Laws Relating to Women and Children," "Some Weak Spots in the Laws and Their Remedies," "The Dangers of Overwork and Idleness," "Benefits of Playgrounds and Industrial Schools," and "Local Conditions."

The subject, "The Newsboys," was ably discussed at different times by Judge Alfred Wolcott of the Circuit Court, and Judge Harry D. Jewell of the Probate and Juvenile Court, and others.

Helpful addresses and talks have been given by the different ministers of the city, including Rabbi Kahn, of Temple Emanuel.

Letters were written to our Representatives in Congress, urging the passage of the District of Columbia Child Labor Law Bill.

On January 27, 1908, a Committee of five was appointed, which is known as the Industrial Scholarship Fund Committee. The object is to assist to attend school worthy children who would otherwise be obliged to stay out and work to help support the family. Contributions have been received from Women's Clubs, Church Societies and individuals, amounting in all to $186.10. The amount paid out is $85.23. Balance on hand, $100.87.

Last Spring two boys were assisted at $1.50 per week each. One finished the seventh grade in June, and is now working. He will soon be able to return the money which was loaned to him from the fund. We are at present helping one boy and three girls. The boy is taking the eighth grade, and receives $2.00 per week. He is fifteen, the oldest of five children, the mother a widow.

The girls receive one dollar per week each. All are members of large families. Two of the mothers have been deserted, one is a widow. In several instances children have been out of school for the want of shoes. In those cases, shoes have been purchased from the fund.

Incidentally, and in a quiet way, much personal work has been done by the members of the Scholarship Fund Committee. Where clothing and bedding were needed by these families, they have been provided. At Thanksgiving time, provisions and other useful things were sent; and on Christmas the members of each family were remembered by the Committee or their friends. The encouragement and inspiration of this personal interest are of great value.

Law infractions and unfavorable conditions are quite often reported to the Child Labor Committee. The Deputy Factory Inspector or the truant officer is at once notified, and when possible, the evils are corrected.

Eleven denominations are represented on this Committee. The interest is growing, and we hope during the coming year we may be able to do still more work along practical lines. March 21, 1908, we sent $25.00 to Mr. Macy, the Treasurer, thus becoming a sustaining member of the National Child Labor Committee.

Mrs. H. Gaylord Holt,
Chairman.

MINNESOTA CHILD LABOR COMMITTEE.

The Minnesota Child Labor Committee is just old enough to answer to roll call, but not old enough to offer an annual report, having been in existence (as fully organized) just one week. It owes its existence to the efforts of the National Child Labor Committee, through its field agent who, last October, suggested to a little group of persons the feasibility of such an organization in Minnesota. The Woman's Club of Minneapolis became interested in the movement and appropriated the sum of sixty dollars ($60) to defray the expenses of preliminary investigation and organization.

The preliminary investigation covered:

First. The laws relating to children.

Second. Local conditions, and means of enforcing these laws.

Third. Canvass of organizations already in existence, with a view to co-ordination of existing forces.

Laws. The laws governing child labor and compulsory education are good. Slight amendment will bring them fully up to the standard submitted by the National Consumers' League in its Handbook of Advanced Child Labor Legislation.

No child under fourteen years of age may work during school term.

No child between the ages of fourteen and sixteen may work without a permit from the superintendent of schools or some one appointed by him to issue such permits.

Personal examination of children by the person issuing the permits is required. The requirements are those suggested in the so-called "Standard" Child Labor Law except, however, that children of poor parents are exempt from the full protection of the law.

The school record required by the law shall be signed by the principal of the school which the child attends, and is in the form approved in other states with good child labor laws.

Sixty hours per week or ten hours in any one day is the maximum number of hours of labor allowed any person under sixteen years; or before the hour of seven o'clock in the morning, or after seven o'clock in the evening, except on Saturday and on ten days prior to Christmas.

Local Conditions and Facilities for Enforcement of Laws.

Child labor and child loafing both exist in Minnesota. It is not possible at present to secure accurate statistics. All that can be said is that truant officers and factory inspectors are constantly finding them. Some evade the law under cover of change of residence; others are lost because of lack of co-operation of private schools in efforts to trace them. Minnesota has no school census. It is believed that when such a census is provided, better results may be accomplished.

The state provides a Bureau of Labor as follows:

Section 1. *How Constituted—Terms—Employees.*—The Bureau of Labor, Industries and Commerce shall consist of a commissioner of labor, as assistant commissioner and a statistician, and shall have its office in the capitol. The commissioner shall be appointed by the governor, by and with the advice and consent of the senate, for a term ending on the first Monday of January in the odd numbered year next ensuing. The two other members shall be appointed for like terms by the commissioners, but all the members shall hold office until their respective successors qualify. The commissioner shall also appoint, and at pleasure remove, three deputy commissioners, five factory inspectors, five assistant factory inspectors, and such other employees as may be necessary, and for whose compensation provision is made by law. Two of the said factory inspectors shall act as inspectors of railroads. The factory inspectors and the assistant factory inspectors must be persons possessed of practical experience and knowledge in and of the operation of factories, and the appointment of any not so qualified shall be void. The commissioner shall be the head of the Bureau, and may assign any other member or employee thereof to any duty imposed thereon by law.

The total number of cases investigated by the factory inspectors while acting as truant officers for the several school boards, was..... 684

(From September, 1908, to January, 1909.)

Their work was done in seventeen cities of the state.

The disposition of cases was as follows:

Returned to school	423
Granted employment certificates	93
Moved out of district	35
Excused by school board	66
Excused for illness, doctor's certificate	26
Over sixteen years of age	17
Attending private schools	21
Graduates of eighth grade	2
Committed to state school	1
	684

During the fall term the superintendents of schools issued 935 permits to work to children under sixteen. One year ago 1045 were issued in the same period, making a reduction of 110, or 10.5 per cent.

Canvass of Organizations and Organization of State Committee.

Lists were procured so far as possible of organizations throughout the state interested in any way in the welfare of children. As a basis of organization, a circular letter was sent out to these organizations in which it was proposed to form a State Child Labor Committee to be composed of delegates from other organizations. The result was that November 15th, twenty-eight delegates in meeting assembled decided to form a Minnesota Child Labor Committee. The first meeting of the Executive Committee occurred January 15, 1909. A Committee has been appointed to formulate a plan for securing and issuing labor scholarships.

The Minnesota Committee is in cordial sympathy with the work of the National Committee. Resolutions in support of the bill, asking for a Federal Children's Bureau and for the observance of Child Labor Day, have been offered, and it is the ambition of the local Committee to attain such strength and power that it may be worthy of the responsibility imposed upon it by its membership in the National Committee.

META JACKSON BARNARD,
Secretary.

THE CHILDREN'S PROTECTIVE ALLIANCE OF MISSOURI.

The legislative work of the Missouri Committee, which is organized under the name of the Executive Committee of the Children's Protective Alliance of Missouri, has been largely delegated this year to the Committee for Social Legislation, a grouping of various organizations interested in social betterment through improved statutes, upon the managing board of which the Alliance is largely represented. The Social Legislation Committee has secured the introduction of eleven bills, which constitute its special program for the present session; of these, six provide for modifications in the

child labor and the compulsory school attendance laws of the state. The proposed provisions are as follows:

First. To make the child labor act applicable throughout the state, instead of only in cities of more than ten thousand inhabitants.

Second. To make compulsory attendance obligatory under the age of fourteen for the whole, instead of one-half, the school year, in all parts of the state.

Third. To strike out the poverty exemption clause from the Compulsory attendance law.

Fourth. To submit a constitutional amendment removing the present age restrictions on public education in cities of fifty thousand inhabitants and over.

Fifth. To put the factory inspector's office on a salary basis, in place of the fee system.

Sixth. To prohibit boys under ten and girls under sixteen from selling newspapers or other articles in streets and public places in cities of more than fifty thousand inhabitants, and to prohibit boys under fourteen from doing business on the streets between 10 p. m. and 5 a. m.

The first of these amendments in the Child Labor law is made necessary by the action of the last Legislature in limiting the applicability of the law to cities having a population of more than ten thousand. This was done in the closing days of the session at the instance of Mr. A. A. Speer, a member of the House of Representatives, after the bill had passed both Houses. The Committee, believing that Mr. Speer's purpose in wishing to amend the bill of 1907 was reasonable, though the method and the result were unfortunate, requested Mr. Speer himself, who is this year Speaker of the House, to introduce the bill repealing the restriction, but meeting in other ways the objections to which his action had been due. This Mr. Speer very cordially agreed to do, the bill being the only one which, as Speaker, he has introduced during the session. The new bill, besides forbidding the employment of children under fourteen in factories, mills, laundries, foundries, theatres and stores, in which more than ten persons are employed, also prohibits the employment of such children in any gainful occupation whatever during the hours in which the public schools are in session. The regulations respecting hours of labor, certificates and dangerous trades remain as in the present law.

All of the bills, with the possible exception of that concerning the factory inspector's office, seem likely to pass without much difficulty. The factory inspection amendments meet more opposition, but the committee hopes also to convince the General Assembly of the necessity of the proposed changes (which will involve some expense to the state treasury) in order to give real efficiency to the enforcement of the labor laws.

A. O. Lovejoy,
Chairman.

NEBRASKA CHILD LABOR COMMITTEE.

Under the operation of the child labor law in Nebraska, with superintendents of schools handling the issue of schooling and age certificates (which are the permits to work) less than 700 such permits were issued up to the close of the school year in 1908. The law went into effect on March 1, 1907. Most of these permits were issued in Omaha and South Omaha, naturally, as the large establishments likely to employ children are located most numerously in those two cities. Lincoln followed in number issued, while in the state outside the permits were very few in number.

This condition exists in Nebraska: The attorneys of many of the larger factories, and of the packing houses advised against taking any chances with the law, and as a consequence some boys were discharged whose employment was not really a violation of the spirit of the law. Only in a few cases, comparatively, was stubbornness exhibited in continuing to employ children illegally after fair warning. Barring the Greek boys who are *farmed* as shoe shiners, court prosecution was not resorted to, except incidentally.

We met the Greeks in court, and they virtually defeated us. Those who watched the cases carefully became convinced that the Greek plan of campaign had been mapped out before the boys left the old country. On the first trial some of them, talking out of court, admitted they were not quite fifteen. Next day, on the stand, they were all sixteen or over, and when the case threatened to become serious, all were seventeen or over. A great many insisted they had come into the country with their fathers, but in a big majority of the cases the father had "gone back to the old country." The State Labor Commissioner took part in investigating and attempting to prosecute these cases, and a special agent of the United States government also took a hand; but the latter seemed as much at a loss how to reach and remedy the evil as the local authorities. However, the hearings had a good effect, at least for the time being. A continual excuse of merchants who need messengers and boys for other purposes about stores, is that we permit under-age Greeks to work, but will not allow American boys to do so.

Up to this time the plan of having school superintendents issue permits, under the direction of the State Labor Bureau, has worked very satisfactorily. The retiring labor commissioner reports that he found it unnecessary to issue even one permit over the heads of the superintendents, although he did advise the issue of perhaps half a dozen where superintendents were in doubt.

A peculiar and gratifying development of the operation of a group of correlated laws in Nebraska (child labor law, compulsory education law, and Juvenile Court law) has been a great lessening of the commitments to the reform schools for boys and girls, especially the former. The retiring superintendent of the Nebraska Industrial School, Mr. Sherman, has reported that the number of boys sent to that institution has been decreasing so steadily that, if it continues, there will be no use for at least one of the buildings.

Two of the volunteer inspectors provided for under the Nebraska law have aided very effectively in having its provisions carried out. These two are Rev. James Wise, of South Omaha, Chairman of the Board of Inspectors, and Mrs. Draper Smith, of Omaha. The three other inspectors have been such in name only, two of them being located where there was no call for their services, in small rural towns, the third evincing no interest after being appointed by Governor Sheldon. An effort is to be made to have inspectors located hereafter in towns where their services are very likely to be needed. There are several such towns in the state outside of Omaha and Lincoln.

On the whole, it can be asserted without fear of contradiction that Nebraska is quite free from abuses of child labor, with the possible exception of the messenger service. Employers have been commendably willing to obey the spirit of the law. The law here can be regarded as mainly preventive, a closing of the door on possible danger in the future.

JOHN J. RYDER,
Secretary.

NEW YORK CHILD LABOR COMMITTEE.

The New York Committee has had a year full of activity, and is pleased at this time to report considerable progress. By far the most important gain has been the enactment of legislation to place the inspection of department stores and all other mercantile establishments under a new bureau established in the State Department of Labor. This marks the end of a twelve-year struggle against powerful mercantile interests. The campaign attending the passage of this measure was the hardest fought since the radical amendments were obtained to the child labor laws in 1903. The chief credit for the victory is due Commissioner of Labor, Hon. John Williams. The New York Committee, the National Child Labor Committee, and a number of other organizations were unceasing in their support of his efforts to secure the enactment of this bill.

As but three months have elapsed since the new Mercantile Bureau was organized in the Department of Labor, it is too soon perhaps to judge of its permanent effectiveness. However, the Committee feels an important piece of work has already been accomplished since the law went into effect October 1st last. This bureau, with but eight inspectors for the three largest cities of the State—New York, Buffalo and Rochester—made approximately 2100 inspections and found a few over 1000 children working illegally during the last quarter of 1908. Thirty-five prosecutions have been instituted against employers violating the law. From these results we are confident that children working in department stores, small mercantile establishments, and for telegraph companies, will receive much greater protection from the law during the coming year than ever before.

The work of the Department of Labor in its inspection of factories has shown very substantial progress. Illegal child labor, which in 1906 represented twenty-seven per cent. of all children employed and in 1907,

seventeen per cent., during 1908 has been still further reduced to thirteen and eight-tenths per cent. Fines, as a result of prosecutions by this department during the year ending September 30, 1908, amounted to $4455—an increase of $1745 over the previous year, and fourteen times that of 1903.

The issuance of "working papers" has received more attention from the Committee than ever before. This is explained by the fact that in New York City alone, 23,000 children received employment certificates during 1908. In Buffalo and Rochester the number was 2800 and 1059 respectively. An agent, placed at the Committee's expense in the Manhattan office of the Department of Health, New York City, where employment certificates are issued, had done very effective work in helping parents find satisfactory evidence of age for children otherwise unable to present such proof. More important, however, has been the opportunity thus afforded the Committee to observe constantly the law's actual enforcement. It has also been possible, through this channel, to suggest important improvements towards making more effective the administration of the law. A concrete example of the work done may be seen from this illustration.

It was found that many children were unable to obtain a transcript of their birth record from the Bureau of Vital Statistics, although their parents insisted that the birth of such children had been properly registered. It was suspected that this was due to lack of thoroughness on the part of the clerk who examines the records, partly through failing to look up the name under a slight variation in spelling often existing among foreign-born children. The agent accordingly secured the use of a duplicate set of the index books of these records. As a result, in a period of about eight months, entries were discovered of the birth of over two hundred children whose names had not been found by the department clerk. With such evidence it was a simple matter to go to the higher officials and to secure better attention to this subject. The presence in the office of such an agent has brought about greater regularity in testing the education of the children by the reading and writing test prescribed in the law. Some improvement in watching the physical fitness of children applying for certificates is another outcome of the presence of this agent. This kind of co-operation has proved so acceptable to the officials, and the results so satisfactory, that another agent has recently been appointed by the Committee to carry on the same work in Brooklyn. Last summer the secretary visited thirty cities throughout the State to observe the workings of this law. Rochester was found to be the only one giving serious attention to the physical fitness of children desiring employment certificates. The investigation revealed a considerable number of officials who failed (usually through ignorance) to enforce properly these important provisions. The most common irregularities noted in the issuance of "working papers" were the failure to test the education of children by a reading and writing test, and the acceptance of parents' affidavits as sole evidence of age when other proof could not be produced. Many officials, however, were exercising due vigilance. In some cases the work was being conducted under laws three and four years old, the authorities learning with surprise of recent amendments. As a result of the investigation, a better compliance with the law is expected during the coming year.

Improvement is to be recorded in the enforcement of the law regulating the sale of newspapers by young boys in cities of the first and second class. This is particularly noticeable in New York, Rochester and Troy, where badges indicating that the holders are legally licensed to sell papers, are beginning to be more generally worn by newsboys. In New York, considerable was accomplished during the first two weeks of the present school term by the assignment of fifty truant officers to enforce this law. The Committee feels that the present squad of four men permanently assigned to this work is too small, and hopes to bring about an increase in the near future.

Our child labor scholarships, established in 1905, have been continued. These are for the purpose of meeting the criticism frequently heard—that hardship would result to many families by cutting off, through the law's enforcement, the child's contribution to the family income. Last year, out of 320 applications, only 84 scholarships were granted. The balance represented instances where, after a careful home investigation, there appeared to be no need of outside financial assistance, or ones which required special treatment, such as advice as to how to obtain "working papers", temporary relief in the form of shoes and clothing, or help towards securing work for older members of the family. The cost of this work last year was approximately $4000, contributed by friends of the Committee.

At the present session of the legislature, it is expected that a number of important amendments to existing laws will be introduced, which will receive the support of the Committee. Among them will be a bill to extend the factory law so as to cover clearly the employment of women and children in the sheds adjoining the canneries, and one with reference to the employment of children in dangerous occupations.

The Committee has now in progress an investigation of the employment of boys in bowling alleys—a phase of child labor in New York State not yet covered by law.

As in the past years, co-operation has been accorded Health Departments, Schools Boards, the State Department of Labor and many civic organizations. A beginning has been made to extend the work of the Committee to the larger cities throughout the State, through conferences in Buffalo and Rochester, and by adding to the Committee a representative from each of these cities.

While a look ahead reveals much remaining to be done, the Committee feels not a little encouraged over conditions as they now exist with respect to children who work in New York State.

George A. Hall,
Secretary.

NORTH DAKOTA CHILD LABOR COMMITTEE.

At the call of the National Child Labor Committee, a number of Grand Forkers met at the Hotel Dacotah on Monday evening, October 26, 1908, to discuss the feasibility of forming a Child Labor Committee in North Dakota. It was the sense of the meeting that while we have practically

no child labor problem in the state, it would be wise to guard against a day when we would have one, and that as such an organization would be of assistance to the National Committee, we should organize.

Dr. John M. Gillette was chosen President, and Elizabeth Abbott, Secretary-Treasurer. Power was given to the President to appoint a general Committee of thirty, from which Committee an Executive Committee of seven was to be appointed. To date there have been three meetings of the Executive Committee and one of the general. The result is that at the present meeting of the State Legislature, a bill is to be presented modeled on the bill recommended by the National Child Labor Committee.

ELIZABETH ABBOTT,
Secretary-Treasurer.

OHIO CHILD LABOR COMMITTEE.

Since the last annual convention of the National Committee, the Ohio Committee has been reorganized, an executive board of ten members having been appointed to take charge of the Committee's affairs, and this board has already taken up actively the consideration of the need of the child labor situation in this state. By special arrangement with the National Committee, every resident of Ohio who contributes financially to the National Child Labor Committee becomes, *ipso facto*, a member of the Ohio Child Labor Committee without additional expense, and by agreement a portion of such contributions is reserved for the use of the Ohio Committee.

The new Ohio law which took effect on the first of last July, is working satisfactorily and its constitutionality has already been upheld by the Common Pleas Court and Court of Appeals in Cleveland, in a case brought by the Department of Factory Inspection for violation of the eight-hour provision.

The Legislature last Spring also passed a bill providing State relief for poverty stricken families to enable them to keep their children in school until they are qualified to go to work in accordance with the requirements of the State child labor law. This law provides that a truant officer shall report to the local board of education every case of a child of compulsory school age whose earnings are needed to support either himself or others dependent upon his earnings; and it then becomes the duty of the president of the board to furnish free text books to the child and such other relief to the family as may be necessary to enable it to keep the child in school. The money for such relief is to be paid out of the contingent funds of the school district. This provision makes the child labor and compulsory education laws harmonious in their bearing upon the factor of poverty and makes it unnecessary for private organizations to undertake the work of providing such relief in this State. In the city of Cincinnati, the board of education has arranged with the local Associated Charities to have such cases as are reported by the truant officers properly investigated by the social workers of this organization and the relief will be paid only in the event of its being recommended by the Associated Charities.

The State law does not provide protection for children engaged in street trades except for messengers and delivery boys. The newsboys, bootblacks and children who work in the markets are not restricted in their labor, except in so far as the compulsory education law applies to them. The Executive Board of the Ohio Committee is considering the advisability of regulating the work of children in the various street trades in Cincinnati by municipal ordinance, and has drafted a proposed measure with the intention of urging the City Council to put it in force.

ALBERT H. FREIBERG,
Chairman.

WARREN (OHIO) CHILD LABOR LEAGUE.

Thus far the Committee has confined its attention to local conditions. Its Investigating Committee acts, for the most part, through the superintendent of the public schools and the truant officer. Few cases of minors illegally at work have been found. The officials themselves consider that the Committee has stimulated them to greater alertness and activity, and the employer to a more careful observance of the child labor laws. Perhaps this is the most valuable work of the Committee.

An excellent truant officer and an equally excellent humane officer have usually been able to secure aid from the proper authorities without our help, for the few children who need such aid in order to remain in sctool.

PHEBE T. SUTLIFF,
Chairman.

CHILD LABOR COMMISSION OF THE STATE OF OREGON.

The child labor work in Oregon for the past year has been of steady upward growth. The enforcement is in the hands of a commission of five—three of whom are women. The law makes no provision for salaries or even for the expenses of the work. Curiously, Oregon, so advanced in the spirit of the law, has systematically remained silent on this point. At each session of the Legislature, an effort is made to provide for the expenses of the work but through some curious combination of circumstances, the conscience of the Ways and Means Committee has not yet responded to needs of the Child Labor Commission.

Oregon tries to believe that it has no child labor, yet a glance at the following list will soon prove the contrary. We find children under the age of sixteen in the following factories: candy, cracker, tin can, rope, wire, broom, bag, bolt, box—both paper and wooden—chair, foundries, gum, glass, fruit canneries, cigar; in stores of every description; messenger service, offices, in hotels and boarding houses. We have noted the steady growth also, of the tendency to "fit the child to the machine" as far as it could be done, and still remain within the law. In several factories in Portland, where we find the largest number of children employed, we

have seen each year the younger age of the operators at certain machines. Three years ago the workers were women; a year later, they were girls over sixteen years of age, and last year, they were girls just over the legal age of fourteen. Were it not for the fact that the Oregon law forbids the employment of children under the age of fourteen in factories, we have not the least doubt that we should find next year, children of still younger age at these machines.

Within the past year we have issued 850 age and schooling certificates to children between the ages of fourteen and sixteen who have passed beyond the 6a grade in school—the majority of the applicants are below the seventh grade. This is too large a number for a city the size of Portland with her progressive ideas, her boasted wealth and culture.

Our law has also a vacation clause which permits children between the ages of twelve and fourteen to be employed during the summer vacation, at any employment not injurious to the health or the morals of the child. It is as yet a difficult thing to convince our people that the vacation time should be summer time and play time for the children at that most critical period of their lives; and to silence the criticism which for a time threatened the life of the law itself, the Commission yielded to misguided public opinion, and permits are granted to children to work in the fruit canneries. The work is not continuous as in the factories of the first group, but if we would believe the testimony of women who have worked in them, the moral influences are bad. Wherever men and women, half-grown girls and boys work in the same rooms, there seems to be a lax code prevalent, and the children unconsciously absorb this atmosphere.

There is a growing spirit of co-operation between the school authorities and the child labor workers that is most encouraging. There is occasionally a teacher or a principal who thoughtlessly recommends to the tender mercies of the factory or department store, the boy or girl with whom he has failed. We do not believe this spirit is confined to Oregon, and it is to be deplored that the schools do not fully realize that children who leave school at the fifth or the sixth grade because "they have lost interest" or "are not doing well in school and might just as well be working" are a reproach to the school system and to the teacher who has turned them out. The child is handicapped and the school and the teacher discredited. Few children at the age of fourteen are able to earn enough to make the sacrifice worth while, even if the economic factor were the main consideration.

We have also had a closer, heartier co-operation on the part of the Juvenile Court, due to a larger appreciation of the influence of environment over the destinies of the child that factory, store and workshop do not exert; the restraining, refining, constructive influences that are to be desired. Again, also, have they realized that many of the children who were so bravely "earning their own way" when child nature demanded play instead, have found their way to the Reform School. We have not had, however, the help most needed from our Juvenile Court people in the matter of the theatre cases. This conflict of opinion has resulted in the passage of a law taking the

stage children from under the jurisdiction of the Child Labor Commission and placing them under the Judge of the Juvenile Court. The Child Labor Commission contends that exploitation of children is exploitation whether the child sings sacred songs on a concert tour through the country, or comic opera or rag time in vaudeville. The Juvenile Court on the other hand believes that "if in the artistic development of a play, a child were needed, no law should stand in the way"—analogous to the spirit of the old-time legend that gave to the bell a sweeter tone if the body of an innocent child were sacrificed to the molten metal. We are, perhaps, extreme in our view that in work for children, the child himself must be the central thought—not the convenience of the family, the school, the probation officer, or even the playwright, but at present we seem to belong to the minority as far as Oregon is concerned.

We are not expected to moralize, however, in these reports, but to note the points of strength and of weakness in our laws and in their enforcement. The weakest point of the Oregon law is in the "age clause" of the child. Parents will swear falsely. We have arbitrarily demanded that the age given by the parent on the age and schooling certificate shall correspond with the age given several months previously to the school on the census form. Failing this, in the case of a foreign-born child, we demand the passport, birth or baptismal papers. At the close of each school year in June we gather up the census forms from the city schools and as each child presents himself for his permit with the parent he is checked up on his census form. In this way we have prevented many cases of false swearing.

On every hand, is the improvement in the messenger service noted—the boys are older and the service better, and there are fewer messenger boys going to the Reform School.

We cannot close this report without sounding a note of grief. The greatest hindrance to the effective enforcement of child labor laws lies not with the poor, the ignorant, or even with the greedy employer, but with the educated man and woman, the superficial thinker, the sentimental classes who are deprived of an evening's entertainment through the law, or whose purses are directly or indirectly affected. They make no effort to find the real history of each case—form their opinions from the sentimental gush of some newspaper reporter, and count of no value whatever, the experience of the workers who have given years of service to the cause—indeed, our latest compliment from a well known clergyman in our midst was as follows: "With respect to our own child labor laws, one cannot but regret the fanatical view regarding their administration that some of our Portland people have. The interference with the public performance of talented children where a price of admission is charged, or otherwise, is a sample of the intemperate and indiscriminating tendency." In the case above referred to the Commission refused to allow a well-known concert company of boys ranging from ten to fourteen years of age to appear in Oregon, holding to the view—possibly "intemperate and indiscriminating"—that the law applied to all children alike. It was due to this element, and to the

interference of a Juvenile Court Judge of national reputation, from another state, that the first entering wedge has been driven in the Oregon law. These we feel are the greater enemies of the work and it is to these that the National Child Labor Committee should direct some of its attention. The workers themselves must be thoroughly grounded in the fundamentals, or they are too easily turned aside from their ideals by individual cases. I plead this for the sake of the cause lest Oregon's experience with her stage children may furnish a painful precedent for other states.

We have not dared to touch the newsboy problem as yet, although we are constantly censured for not taking the "baby newsboy" off the streets. This comes more directly under the Juvenile Court until our child labor law shall have a section covering it. We had hoped to provide for this destructive class of child labor at this session, but our experience with the theatres, and distrust of the Legislature, said "hands off". As long as public opinion is willing to sacrifice hundreds of children so that we may have an occasional genius, we must wait for public opinion to change its tone before attempting any radical legislation along this line. We must have our ideals high, and hold to them, but we must not forget that public opinion is a capricious, hysterical dame who loses her poise when her pocketbook is affected, or her sympathies touched.

MILLIE R. TRUMBULL,
Secretary.

THE PENNSYLVANIA CHILD LABOR ASSOCIATION.

Since the report made in April, 1908, the local child labor organizations in Pittsburg and Philadelphia have federated under the name of the Pennsylvania Child Labor Association. Local branches have been organized in other cities and during the fall months an active campaign of education was carried on in preparation for the introduction of two child labor bills which have the following for their purpose:

1. To require proof that children are fourteen years old before they shall be allowed to work.
2. To place the issuance of employment certificates in the hands of school officials.
3. To raise the age for work in soft coal mines from twelve to fourteen.
4. To allow only a ten-hour day for children under sixteen years of age.
5. To prohibit all forms of night work for children under sixteen years of age.

The Federation of Women's Clubs, Mothers' Congress, the Consumers' League and various local organizations are all co-operating to this end.

Eleven different types of literature have been distributed, some in 30,000 quantities, bearing upon the issues of the campaign. The prospects are encouraging for a bill which will stop parental perjury and give school officials the issuance of certificates, but determined opposition has already

shown itself to the ten-hour day and the abolition of night-work provisions in our second bill. Another court decision—the fourth within four years—has overthrown an additional part of the existing child labor law. This, however, only makes the passage of our bills more necessary.

FRED S. HALL,
Secretary.

ALLEGHENY COUNTY (PA.) CHILD LABOR ASSOCIATION.

The Chairman of the Legislative Committee of the Child Labor Association of Allegheny County, Pennsylvania, has authorized me to make the following report of the work done by this Association:

Since April, 1908, the Association has been occupied mainly in working in co-operation with the Pennsylvania Child Labor Association in framing bills to be presented to the Legislature now in session. Since December 1st, active measures have been taken to create public opinion throughout the district and in organizing the work here. The services of a directing secretary have been secured to extend the work.

ALIDA LATTIMORE,
Directing Secretary.

THE RHODE ISLAND JOINT COMMITTEE ON CHILD LABOR.

The Joint Committee on Child Labor—formed in Rhode Island in January, 1908, and composed of representatives of local educational and philanthropic societies, as well as sub-committees of the Rhode Island State Child Labor Committee—is continuing during the present winter its active campaign for an improved child labor law. A bill amending the law in four particulars was introduced in the assembly in 1908. It passed the House, but failed of passage in the Senate. A bill similar in its provisions has been introduced this year and is now in the hands of the Senate committee on special legislation. A public hearing on the bill is promised within a few days. Meanwhile the Rhode Island State Federation of Women's Clubs has published a simplified statement of the present Factory Inspection Law of the state, which controls the labor conditions of the women and children, and has also supplemented the statement with the amendments proposed to the present law and the reasons why such amendments are deemed wise and practicable, asking each member of the Federation to bring these amendments and the arguments in their favor to the attention of their local representatives in our assembly.

The Committee is hoping for the successful passage this year of these four amendments:—1st. 7 p. m. instead of 8 p. m. shall end the day's work for children under sixteen years of age in all factories, manufacturing or business establishments. 2d. The privilege now held by mercantile establishments of keeping children under sixteen years of age late on Saturday nights and for the four days preceding Christmas shall be withdrawn. 3d. An

educational test, viz., the ability to read and write simple sentences in English, before granting working certificates to children under sixteen years of age. 4th. The employer of a child who claims to be sixteen years of age but whose appearance causes the factory inspector to doubt it, shall be required to furnish satisfactory proof of the claim.

Mrs. Carl Barus,
Chairman.

CITIZENS' CHILD LABOR COMMITTEE, WASHINGTON, D. C.

A law for the regulation of child labor in the District of Columbia was passed by the National Congress and approved by the President on May 28th, of last year. This law is the result of three and a half years' effort on the part of the National Committee and of the local Committee organized at the suggestion of the National Committee. The law as passed contains some features which were opposed by the friends of the measure, but which finally had to be accepted. The measure was passed practically in the shape recommended by the National and local Committees, with several sections added which regulated street trading on the lines of the New York law. A proviso was inserted by the Senate permitting the judge of the Juvenile Court to exempt children under the limit of fourteen years, but over twelve years of age, if they were the support of dependent relatives.

Unfortunately the appropriation bill as passed by Congress contained no provision for the inspectors authorized by the act. The Commissioners of the District did the best they could under the circumstances by detailing two policemen for this duty, and these officers are engaged in filling these positions at the present time. Owing to the lack of appropriations, it was not possible to announce the enforcement of the law until August first of last year, and even then, the first month was taken up in the preliminary work of explaining the provisions of the law to dilatory employers and parents. The actual enforcement of the law therefore took place about the first of September, 1908. The following report on the effect of the law refers only to the four months ending December 31st, 1908.

For this period, the most important event has been the work of providing the children with age and schooling certificates. The law provides that these certificates shall be issued by the school board and experience seems to show that for this jurisdiction the school authorities are best qualified to perform this duty. The age of children is secured for school purposes some time before the question of employment arises and is therefore likely to be reported correctly. By requiring each applicant for an employment certificate to bring with him his last school report, the officials are enabled to secure immediate information on the point of educational qualifications. For the greater part of the applicants—approximately ninety per cent. of the whole number—the school authorities are thereby in a position to decide immediately as to the age and educational qualifications of the children seeking employment certificates. In addition to these two points, the board of education took the commendable action of detailing

two of the school medical inspectors to the work of examining each child who applied for a certificate. While the physical examination was necessarily somewhat restricted, each of the 3200 children was examined as to heart, lungs, spinal curvature and general physical development. Although certificates were refused on account of poor physique in but few cases, a number of provisional certificates were issued, such as certificates permitting only outside work in cases of children having weak lungs, etc.

The problem of securing proper evidence of age in the case of children who had not been recently in attendance at the schools, has proved a source of considerable difficulty. In the first place, registration of births in this city has been strictly enforced only during the last few years, so that the records of the board of health have been of little assistance. In the second place, few of the children possess baptismal or other church certificates containing information as to age. The result is that for the great majority of the children not possessing school records, the oath of the parent or guardian as to the age of the child has to be accepted. Such evidence is frankly conceded by the administrative officials to be of little value, but in such cases the only course open has been followed—namely to emphasize the educational test and the examination by the school physician.

The effect of the exemption clause in the law, which reduced the age limit from fourteen to twelve in cases of poverty, has been observed with especial interest because the census of 1900 showed that approximately one-third of the child bread-winners of this city were orphans. The power to make exemptions is vested in the Juvenile Court. The head of that court has shown a full appreciation of the importance of this phase of the problem, and has granted such exemptions only after the need of the child's earnings has been clearly established. In view of this fact, it may be said that the harm of the exemption clause has been restricted to a minimum.

The number of children under sixteen years of age who have received employment certificates is as follows: Street trading certificates, 1700; general employment certificates, 1478. The working children, according to these figures, constitute approximately one per cent. of the total population, and approximately ten per cent. of the total number of children under sixteen years of age.

HENRY J. HARRIS,
Secretary.

WISCONSIN CHILD LABOR COMMITTEE.

Wisconsin child labor conditions are not materially changed since reported upon in the spring of 1908.

The biennial session of the Wisconsin Legislature is just beginning and several amendments will be offered to the child labor law, as amended by the legislature of 1907. It has been a custom in Wisconsin, and we think a wise custom, to allow a child labor law, when radically amended, to be tested for four years without important amendments by the intervening legislature, that the law may be given a chance to demonstrate its useful-

ness and its weak points. That plan will be followed this year and it is hoped that there may be an improvement in the educational test by a requirement of a teacher's certificate. At present the burden is thrown upon the officers granting the permit to test the child's knowledge of English. This is wrong in principle and works out inconveniently in practice. The factory inspector's office, upon which much of the work of granting permits falls, requests that a teacher's certificate, as to education, should be required before permit is given. It is hoped that the legislature will improve the law in various minor but important details.

Very little harm has apparently resulted under the "perishable goods clause," on which report was made in 1908, because of a strict construction of the act by the attorney general's department, and perhaps because there have been many prosecutions; but the clause is thoroughly bad in principle and condemned by experience in other states. We hope that it will be struck out of the law this winter.

As to the fifty-five hour clause, the testimony of those who know is that it is working well and that on the whole it is being faithfully obeyed and that it is not resulting, as it has in some other states, in children working sixty hours a week instead of fifty-five. We trust the time will come, and speedily, when Wisconsin can have a nine hour day.

There is increasing dissatisfaction felt with the exemption of newsboys from the general operation of the child labor law and a growing feeling that there should be a special newsboys' and street trades act along the line of the acts in New York and Massachusetts. It is hoped that a law of this kind may be passed at the present session of the Legislature.

Under the Wisconsin law of 1907, the number of permits issued to children under sixteen has been reduced to about thirty-five per cent. This is a striking feature in view of the great demand for children's work. In addition to the possible reduction of child labor because of the financial stringency (not always operating largely to reduce child labor) the reduction in the number of permits issued results from the dangerous employment clause of the law of 1907, which we believe to be one of the most thorough and complete of its kind in the United States, and because of the increasing strictness in issuing permits, especially in the factory inspector's office, where probably much more than half of the permits of the state are issued.

The most striking recent feature of the child labor situation in Wisconsin is the increasing demand for young girls' work in factories, including tanneries, and there are many instances reported where men have been replaced by girls and often by girls between fourteen and sixteen. We have grown accustomed to the demand for girls in household work and the fact that it was hard to fill that demand, but it is a newer feature of the situation to have a demand for young girls in factories which is in excess of the supply.

The factory inspector's office asks for two more assistant factory inspectors and they seem to be thoroughly needed.

In closing it should be said that the cause of child labor in Wisconsin

is greatly helped, especially in Milwaukee County, by the increasing efficiency of the work of the probation officers in the Juvenile Court and by the most helpful work of the truancy department of the public schools. Experience has shown that the best results can only be obtained when child labor, Juvenile Court and compulsory education laws are kept as nearly as possible at an equal state of efficiency so that each may help the other in handling its peculiar problems.

EDWARD W. FROST,
Chairman.

REPORTS FROM THE SOUTHERN STATES.

Virginia.

The age limit for the employment of children in factories went to thirteen in Virginia the first of January, 1909, and will reach the standard of fourteen in January, 1910. Virginia has also a rudimentary compulsory attendance law which should help the cause of child labor reform when both laws can be enforced. The principal need in Virginia is factory inspection.

North Carolina.

The North Carolina Child Labor Committee met early in January and agreed to press for two or three changes in the present child labor law:— the shortening of the hours from sixty-six a week to sixty, the raising of the age limit for night work from fourteen to sixteen and the provision for a factory inspector under the Bureau of Labor. A bill has been introduced by Representative J. W. Hinsdale, of Raleigh, going farther than these proposals in the line of child labor reform, but the result is problematical. I note that the Committee of Manufactures and Labor, of the Senate, is composed mainly of cotton mill owners, and any bill that gets through the Senate must be passed in spite of an unfavorable report from this Committee, or must be subjected to their tender mercies by way of amendment. A large lobby, of fifty manufacturers, is urging, in Raleigh, the defeat of the Hinsdale bill. Nevertheless, some advance may be gained. At present the commissioner of labor has no authority to enter a factory for inspection, though it is to be hoped that the new commissioner will do something more for the enforcement of the child labor law than his predecessor did.

South Carolina.

The South Carolina Legislature is also in session. One or more amendments have been offered to the child labor bill, and a compulsory school attendance bill has also been introduced. As already noted, the cotton manufacturers have said they will not object to the raising of the age limit to fourteen, if the compulsory attendance bill is passed, but I have heard of no great activity for the passage of the latter measure, which they claim to have been favoring for years. I understand that an amendment forbidding

night work for children under sixteen will not be objected to, as there is very little night work in South Carolina. I have described elsewhere[1] how flagrantly the present child labor laws are being violated in both the Carolinas without factory inspection. Governor Ansel, in South Carolina, as did Retiring-Governor Glenn and Governor Kitchin, in North Carolina, advocated the initiation of a factory inspection system in their messages to the legislature.

Florida.

The Florida Legislature meets in March. Preparations are being made by the labor unions, the women's clubs and other organizations standing for the cause of the working children, to raise the age limit in Florida from twelve to fourteen, and to make the law more effective in other ways.

Tennessee.

The principal need now felt in Tennessee is greater authority for the factory inspector and better provisions of law relating to sanitary and safety appliances. These measures, which, I understand, are already being advocated by the labor unions, are to be pressed to a conclusion with the help of the Tennessee Child Labor Committee. The Legislature is now in session.

Georgia.

The Georgia Legislature meets in June. The Georgia Child Labor Committee has been contending for some time for the sixty hour week, the repeal of the exemption clause of the present child labor law, and the inauguration of factory inspection. It is hoped that these efforts will be successful at the approaching session of the Legislature.

Alabama.

In Alabama we have only to note that the recent law has not been enforced owing partly to the long illness, followed by death, of the factory inspector, Dr. Shirley Bragg. His successor has recently been appointed, Dr. Thomas G. Bush, and a new chief mine inspector, Edward Flynn. It is hoped that the new force will be able to carry out the provisions of the inspection law and that there will result a more careful observance of the child labor law.

Mississippi.

One of the amusing things about the Mississippi situation is the attitude of the manufacturers over the passage of what they call the "drastic" law forbidding children under twelve to work in factories and children under sixteen to work more than fifty-six hours a week or more than ten hours a day. At first they went into the newspapers with the threat to discharge all their employees under sixteen years of age. But as it had already been ascertained that twenty-five per cent. of the employees were under fourteen,

[1] See pp. 63-72.

this proposition was reconsidered. So the expedient has been adopted of keeping the actual time at which the doffer boys are at work, and letting the girl spinners come an hour later in the morning or leave an hour earlier in the evening. There is printed elsewhere in this volume an article by Senator McDowell, author of the child labor law. The Mississippi Child Labor Committee has been a vigorous defender of the cause of child labor reform in the public press, and numbers among its members some of the most distinguished citizens of Mississippi.

Louisiana.

The fight for the passage of the best child labor law yet enacted in any Southern state is described in the article by Miss Jean M. Gordon, published in this volume. The passage of this law was mainly due to the persistent efforts of Miss Gordon, the state factory inspector of Louisiana.

Texas.

There is no organized effort as yet to amend the Texas Child Labor Law, especially as it has an age limit of sixteen in mines and there are comparatively few factories where children are employed. The Texas Legislature is now in session, and I have been in correspondence with individual citizens with regard to raising the age limit in factories from twelve to fourteen.

Arkansas.

No report has been received from this state.

Oklahoma.

A new child labor bill has been introduced into the Oklahoma Legislature, now in session. It has passed its second reading in the Senate, and, I understand, the Governor has agreed not to veto it this time. It is an excellent bill as it stands and it is hoped that Miss Kate Barnard, the Commissioner of Charities, will have her long and persistent fight for its passage rewarded with speedy victory.

A. J. McKelway,
Secretary for Southern States, National Child Labor Committee.

Annual Report of the General Secretary of the National Child Labor Committee

For the Fourth Fiscal Year, Ended September 30, 1908.

I. Legislation—State.

In the fourth fiscal year important changes were made in the child labor laws of eight states: Kentucky, Louisiana, Massachusetts, Mississippi, New Jersey, New York, Ohio and Virginia.

The advance in standards of protection in Southern States is marked, notably the laws enacted in Kentucky and Louisiana. In Louisiana a fourteen-year age limit is established, with the prohibition of night work for boys under sixteen and girls under eighteen years. The Kentucky law removes the poverty exemption, which weakened the old law, and requires proof of age, lengthens the compulsory school year, limits the hours of labor and forbids night work of children under sixteen. The new laws in Mississippi and Virginia show a healthy appreciation of the importance of child protection.

A law was passed in Massachusetts limiting the hours of labor for women and children under eighteen to fifty-six per week. The law takes effect January 1, 1910.

New Jersey enacted a compulsory education law, requiring school attendance of all children between the ages of seven and seventeen, except that children of fifteen who have completed the grammar grades and are regularly employed may be excused. This places the age limit for employment during the school period at fifteen years.

In New York a law was passed transferring the enforcement of the mercantile child labor law from local boards of health in cities of the first class to the State Labor Department, and providing for the creation of a bureau of mercantile inspection. This law became effective October 1st.

In Ohio an important measure was passed limiting the hours of labor for boys under sixteen and girls under eighteen to eight per day and forty-eight per week. This measure met earnest opposition from textile and shoe manufacturers, who contended that such a law would result in great hardship to industries and people because of interstate competition. Many of these manufacturers are adjusting their operations to comply with this law, and it is believed some of them will gladly co-operate in our efforts to secure an equally high standard in other states.

In Oklahoma a compulsory education bill and child labor bill were drafted by Dr. McKelway, who went to Oklahoma at the request of citizens of that state and by a special appropriation to cover his traveling expenses. The compulsory education bill was enacted. The child labor bill passed

the Senate by a vote of thirty-four to eight, and the House by a vote of seventy-nine to sixteen, but was vetoed by the Governor.

FEDERAL.

The District of Columbia child labor bill, already presented in two sessions of Congress, was again urged by this Committee, and after some amendments, became law on May 28, 1908.

The contention of many residents and certain Congressmen that no child labor existed in Washington was disproved by the number of applications for employment certificates immediately following the enactment of this law. Thirty-seven hundred and fifty-four children, at last report, had applied for employment certificates. Of these 3,579 were granted and fifty-four refused because lacking either in age or educational qualifications.

The Committee gave hearty support to U. S. Commissioner of Education, Dr. Elmer E. Brown, in his effort to secure an appropriation of $40,000 for special investigations under the Bureau of Education, but the bill providing for this increased appropriation was denied by Congress.

The bill to establish a Federal Children's Bureau was not actively urged, as it was deemed wise to concentrate our efforts in aiding the campaign of the Commissioner of Education. By action of the Board of Trustees on April 29, 1908, the Secretaries were instructed to use all diligence at the coming session of Congress in seeking the enactment of this measure. Since that date the members of this Committee and representatives of kindred organizations have been circularized in its behalf.

II. INVESTIGATION.

Extensive investigations have been carried on in Georgia, Mississippi, North and South Carolina and Virginia under the direction of Dr. McKelway; in various parts of New England, especially in textile centers and the east coast of Maine, under the direction of Mr. Lord; in the glass, coal and mercantile industries and street trades of Ohio, Kentucky, Indiana and West Virginia under the direction of Mr. Clopper; and in Kansas, Missouri and Colorado by Mr. Morris.

In the investigation of cotton mills in Mississippi, Dr. McKelway and his assistants reported 25 per cent of the cotton mill operatives under the age of fourteen and 50 per cent of the children under that age as illiterate. It was largely as a result of this investigation that Senator McDowell was able to secure the adoption of the child labor bill. The opposition to this measure was from a lobby of cotton manufacturers, who succeeded in reducing the age limit from fourteen to twelve, with a sixty-hour week for children under sixteen. The bill provides for factory inspection by the local authorities of each county.

A tour of investigation through South Carolina mills revealed conditions similar to those in Mississippi with respect to the employment of children and the literacy of children employed. A similar investigation in Georgia showed somewhat better conditions, though laxness was discovered in the matter of issuing certificates of literacy and school attendance.

While the conditions revealed throughout the South indicate the need for vigorous legislative campaigns, there are more children at work in the factories of North and South Carolina than in all the South besides. North Carolina still allows the sixty-six-hour week, and South Carolina allows all children of any age to enter the mills if they are children of dependent parents.

Mr. Lord, the Secretary for New England, has made personal investigation of conditions in the cotton factories of Maine and New Hampshire and in the sardine canneries of Maine. He reports few children illegally employed in the cotton factories. He finds in the sardine canneries a very large number of young children, and conditions that warrant vigorous action to secure a law prohibiting their employment.

Mr. Clopper, Secretary for the Ohio Valley States, has made an investigation and presented a report on children in the street trades of Cincinnati, and has traveled extensively through the mining and glass regions of Indiana, Ohio and West Virginia, securing information as to the operation of the present laws and the need for further legislation. The work of forming state committees in Indiana and West Virginia progresses encouragingly, and the published results of the investigation should prove a valuable factor in the legislative changes these committees will seek in the coming winter.

The work of Mr. Morris, special agent of the Committee, from July 15th to November 15th, was begun in Kansas, and his field study has been made in the factory centers of Kansas and Western Missouri and in the beet-sugar fields of Western Kansas and Eastern Colorado. In those states, because of the predominance of native parentage, a healthy sentiment prevails as to the necessity for the education of children and aside from the beet fields the agricultural situation is good. In the beet fields it is becoming a common practice to employ young children for excessive hours and sometimes in large groups, resulting in the introduction of many of the objectionable features of factory employment.

III. Research.

On November 1, 1907, a special appropriation of $500 was received to render available for the use of students the existing official information on child labor in America. Thus far the work has consisted in collating and indexing excerpts from annual reports of departments of labor and factory inspection and from state educational reports. A balance of $161.13 of this appropriation is shown in the Treasurer's report.

IV. Travel and Public Speaking.

As public interest in this subject increases, demands for aid in local and state campaigns and calls to address public gatherings multiply. The secretaries have been called to fill a large number of public engagements, while volunteer speakers have been secured in many cases to respond to invitations coming to this office.

The personal assistance of our secretaries was given in the legislative

campaigns in Georgia, Kentucky, Massachusetts, Mississippi, New Jersey, New York, Oklahoma, Rhode Island and Virginia.

The Committee has been officially represented at the meetings of the Southern Textile Conference, Nashville, Tenn.; the National Conference of Charities and Correction, Richmond, Va.; the National Education Association, Cleveland, Ohio; the American Institute of Instruction, Burlington, Vt.; the International Association of Factory Inspectors, Toronto, Canada; the National Playground Congress, New York; the International Congress on the Prevention of Tuberculosis, Washington, D. C.; and the Biennial of the General Federation of Women's Clubs, Boston, Mass.

V. Organization of State and Local Committees.

State Committees have been formed during the year in Virginia, Mississippi and Kansas, and committees are in process of formation in Louisiana, California, West Virginia, Indiana, North Dakota, Minnesota and Massachusetts. Local committees have been formed in Newport News, Va., Bensonhurst, L. I., N. Y., and Los Angeles, Cal.

The reports from state and local committees presented at the fourth annual meeting attest the value of these organizations, and show an increasing appreciation of the importance of regulating child labor conditions by local forces. Fourteen state committees and two local committees reported.

VI. Publicity.

The report of the fourth annual meeting held in Atlanta, Ga., April 2, 3 and 4, was published in full as a Supplement to the July, 1908, number of The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, and the principal papers and addresses were published as separate reprints for distribution. Many of our earlier publications have been reprinted, and pamphlets, leaflets, charts and photographs issued dealing with special phases of the subject.

To keep the work of the Committee before the public, we have a carefully selected list of newspapers, to which interesting material is sent as occasion warrants, and an index of 12,000 clergymen enables us to communicate directly with the leading churches of the country. Our reports are sent regularly to all state commissioners of labor, state factory inspectors and state superintendents of education.

In the investigations conducted, wherever practicable, photographs and descriptions have been secured. These are published from time to time, either in the official publications of this Committee, or through the columns of magazines and newspapers.

The total publications of the Committee to the end of the fourth fiscal year form a series of eighty-four pamphlets and nineteen leaflets. The total number of documents issued in the year is 242,000, and the total pages aggregates 1,763,400. There should also be added 68,204 letters sent to individuals describing the work of the Committee. One hundred and thirty-eight volumes of the first, second and third annual reports have been sold and distributed to fifty-five libraries.

VII. Child Labor Day.

Child Labor Day was observed January 25 and 26, 1908. We reached the churches through the religious press, which generally published the official call and in many instances added able editorials in behalf of the work. It has been impossible to estimate the number of pulpits in which the subject was presented, but requests for literature came from many hundred pastors and our clipping bureau reported a large number of special church services. In the coming year it is proposed to send a personal invitation to 35,000 clergymen, asking them to observe the fourth Sunday in January as Child Labor Day.

VIII. Exhibits.

The charts, photographs and literature which were at Jamestown, Va., during the Exposition, were removed to Atlanta and exhibited in connection with the fourth annual meeting and have since been used at the National Conference of Charities and Correction, Richmond, Va., at the New York State Conference of Charities and Correction, Albany, and in the Atlanta, Boston and New York offices.

IX. Finances.

The receipts and expenditures of the Committee as shown by the Treasurer's report for the fourth fiscal year are summarized in the following items:

Treasurer's Report for Year Ending September 30, 1908.

As examined, audited and found correct by Haskins & Sells, of New York, certified public accountants.

Debits.

Cash on deposit, October 1, 1907			$2,971.84
Receipts:			
Paid subscriptions		$30,662.39	
Special subscriptions:—			
District work, Ohio Valley States	$2,500.00		
Compilation of child labor literature	500.00		
		3,000.00	
Sales of publications		311.68	
Interest on bank balances		54.61	
Miscellaneous receipts		68.95	
			34,097.63
Total debits			$37,069.47

CREDITS.

Expenses:			
Salaries—Administrative	$8,200.01		
Clerks and stenographers	4,244.36		
		$12,444.37	
Stationery and office supplies		619.01	
Postage		3,059.27	
Investigation expenses		6,199.21	
Rent		1,535.41	
Traveling		1,695.58	
Printing		3,773.92	
Telephone and telegraph		297.45	
General expenses		425.22	
Legal expenses		79.00	
Purchase of material on child labor		107.45	
District work, Ohio Valley States		2,501.84	
Jamestown exhibit		538.57	
Compilation of child labor literature		338.87	
			$33,615.17
Miscellaneous:			
Furniture and fixtures		$457.75	
Expenses of third fiscal year		74.46	
			532.21
Total credits			$34,147.38
Cash on deposit, September 30, 1908			$2,922.09

X. MEMBERSHIP.

During the year this Committee has lost the following members: Through death, Hon. Grover Cleveland; by resignation, Rev. John G. Anderson and Mr. Hugh F. Fox. There have been added to the Committee: Dr. Albert H. Freiberg, Mr. John Golden, Hon. Curtis Guild, Jr., and Mr. John Mitchell.

In the development of contributing memberships, the record of the Committee shows at the end of the year the following total:

Guarantors	23
Sustaining	484
Associate	2199
Contributing	176

XI. ADMINISTRATION.

At the first meeting of the Trustees, October 24, 1907, Mr. Lovejoy, who had been appointed Acting Secretary at the meeting of the Trustees, April 22, 1907, was appointed Secretary.

At the same meeting the Secretary was authorized to co-operate with the special committee on district work in attempting to secure a secretary for the New England States and one for the Ohio Valley States. Pursuant to this action, Mr. Everett W. Lord was engaged on January 1st to represent the Committee in the New England States. He at once established an office at 101 Tremont Street, Boston. Meanwhile, the disturbance of financial conditions in the country rendered the possible resources of the Committee doubtful, and it was deemed unwise by the members of the Finance Committee to carry into effect the action of the Board by establishing the Ohio Valley office, unless special aid could be secured. Application was accordingly made to friends of the National Child Labor Committee for a special fund of $5,000 for the organization of state and local committees and for the study of conditions of child labor in the Ohio Valley States. This application was granted January 6, 1908, and on February 11th, Mr. E. N. Clopper was engaged conditionally to represent the Committee at Cincinnati and make a study of the local field. On April 15th, by action of the District Committee, Mr. Clopper was made Secretary for the Ohio Valley States, and on August 1st opened an office at 803 Union Trust Building, Cincinnati, Ohio. The development of intelligent interest in New England and in the Ohio Valley, the sections covered by our offices established last year, justifies a careful survey of other parts of the country to ascertain whether other district offices may wisely be established at this time.

At the meeting of the Board of Trustees held February 21, 1908, the following official titles were designated: General Secretary, Secretary for the Southern States, Secretary for New England, Secretary for the Ohio Valley States, Membership Secretary.

On August 15th, Mr. Lewis W. Hine was engaged to work under the direction of Mr. Clopper in securing photographs of working conditions in the Ohio Valley States. The results of Mr. Hine's work will be apparent in the photographs from which enlargements, slides and cuts for newspaper and magazine publicity are being secured.

Many requests for illustrated lectures are received at the office, and to meet these demands we have added to the stock of stereopticon slides. We have at present 256 slides, including duplicates.

On July 15th, Mr. Stephen P. Morris, formerly Secretary of the Associated Charities, Omaha, Neb., was engaged temporarily to aid in the formation of committees in the Western States, and his engagement was continued to November 15, 1908.

The development of district organization has considerably increased the staff of workers, while the enlargement of our correspondence with persons and organizations interested in this subject has greatly added to the work in the New York office. At this date the pay-roll consists of the following: 4 Secretaries, 1 Membership Secretary, 1 Special Representative in the Western States, 5 Stenographers, two in the New York office and one in each of the district offices—Atlanta, Boston and Cincinnati, 4 clerks in the New York office, 1 Photographer.

At the final meeting of the Board of Trustees for the fourth fiscal year the chairman, Dr. Adler, expressed his desire to be relieved during the coming year of the chairmanship of this Committee, on account of his absence in Europe as Theodore Roosevelt Professor of American History and Institutions, at the University of Berlin. The members present responded by expressing appreciation of Dr. Adler's able leadership, and the belief that his resignation from the chairmanship would do incalculable injury to the cause of child labor reform. Following this discussion, a resolution was offered by Dr. Lindsay, and seconded by Mr. Folks, the two Vice-Chairmen of the Committee, that Dr. Adler be given leave of absence for one year, and that Mr. Isaac N. Seligman be elected Chairman *pro tempore* during the period of Dr. Adler's absence. This motion was unanimously adopted.

The Secretary desires to express his appreciation of the assistance rendered by members of the Board of Trustees; the able work of the District Secretaries, the record of whose activities constitutes so large a portion of this report, and the cordial harmony in which all members of the staff have worked together.

Respectfully submitted,

OWEN R. LOVEJOY,
General Secretary.

The Proceedings of the Fifth Annual Conference on Child Labor Under the Auspices of the National Child Labor Committee

Chicago, Ill., January 21, 22, 23, 1909.

The first annual conference of this Committee was held in New York City, February 14 to 16, 1905. The second was held in Washington, December 8 to 10, 1905, with supplementary sessions in Philadelphia and Chicago. The third was held in Cincinnati, December 13 to 15, 1906, and the fourth in Atlanta, Ga., April 2 to 5, 1908.

At the fifth annual conference held in Chicago, January 21 to 23, the following program was carried out:

GENERAL TOPIC: THE CHILD WORKERS OF THE NATION.

I. Thursday Afternoon, January 21st, 3 o'clock.

Chairman, Isaac N. Seligman, New York, Chairman *pro tempore* National Child Labor Committee.

Organization, enrolment of delegates, etc.

Reports and papers from District Secretaries and General Secretary.

1. "Some Unsettled Questions About Child Labor," Owen R. Lovejoy, General Secretary.
2. "The Child and the Law," Dr. A. J. McKelway, Secretary for the Southern States.
3. "Child Labor in the Canneries and Textile Industries of New England," Everett W. Lord, Secretary for New England States.
4. "Child Labor in the Ohio Valley States," E. N. Clopper, Secretary for Ohio Valley States.

II. Thursday Evening, January 21st, 7.45 o'clock.

Chairman, A. C. Bartlett, Chairman Chicago Committee on Fifth Annual Meeting.

Prayer, Rev. Smith Thomas Ford, D.D., President Chicago Church Federation Council.

1. Opening address by Isaac N. Seligman, Chairman *pro tempore* National Child Labor Committee, "The Duty of a Rich Nation to Care for Her Children."
2. Response, Prof. Charles R. Henderson, representing the Governor of Illinois.

3. The Federal Children's Bureau.
   Ten-minute addresses:
   Leo Arnstein, New York.
   Prof. Charles R. Henderson, University of Chicago.
   Judge Ben B. Lindsay, Denver, International Juvenile Court Society.
   Jane Addams, Hull House.
   Dr. Henry Baird Favill, Chicago, National Association for the Study and Prevention of Tuberculosis.
   Samuel McCune Lindsay, Ph.D., Professor, Social Legislation, Columbia University, New York.
4. Stereopticon address, "Types of Working Children," Dr. A. J. McKelway.

III. Friday Morning, January 22d, 10 o'clock.

Chairman, Isaac N. Seligman.

STATE AND LOCAL COMMITTEES—REPORTS AND DISCUSSIONS.

1. Exemptions to child labor laws on account of poverty, vacation, etc.; whether such exemptions exist, and if not, when and why repealed. Discussion opened by Edward W. Frost, Chairman, Wisconsin Child Labor Committee.
2. Employment certificates. Should they be issued by school authorities, members of health boards, judges, notaries, factory inspectors? Discussion opened by Mrs. H. M. Van Der Vaart, Secretary, Illinois Child Labor Committee.
3. Evidence of age. When documentary evidence cannot be procured, what procedure to obtain further evidence? Discussion opened by George A. Hall, Secretary, New York Child Labor Committee.

IV. Friday Afternoon, January 22d, 2.30 o'clock.

Chairman, Dr. Frank Billings, Chicago.

CHILD LABOR A MENACE TO THE NATIONAL HEALTH.

1. "Overworked Children on the Farm and in the School," Dr. Woods Hutchinson, New York.
2. "Some Effects of Improper Posture in Factory Labor," Dr. Albert H. Freiberg, Cincinnati.
3. "Child Labor and the Juvenile Court," Dr. James A. Britton, Chicago.
4. "The Roentgen Ray as a Factor in Child Labor Reform," Dr. Thomas Morgan Rotch, Boston (with Stereopticon).

Discussion by Dr. Henry B. Favill, Dr. Frank Billings and others.

V. Friday Evening, January 22d, 7.45 o'clock.

Chairman, Isaac N. Seligman.

CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE PROTECTION OF CHILDHOOD.

1. "The Relation of Public Education to Child Labor," Andrew S. Draper, Ph.D., State Commissioner of Education, Albany, N. Y.

2. "Practical Restrictions on Child Labor in the Textile Industries under Higher Educational and Physical Qualifications," Howell Cheney, Cheney Silk Mills, South Manchester, Conn.
3. "Scholarships for Working Children," Mrs. Florence Kelley, New York, General Secretary, National Consumers' League.
4. Stereopticon address, "Injurious Physical Effects of Premature Employment," Dr. Albert H. Freiberg, Cincinnati.

VI. Saturday Morning, January 23d, 10.30 o'clock.

Chairman, Homer Folks, Vice-Chairman National Child Labor Committee.

Symposium of Factory Inspectors.

1. "The Present Situation in Illinois," Hon. Edgar T. Davies.
2. "Uniform Systems of Child Labor Statistics," Hon. John Williams, New York.
3. "The Forward Step in Louisiana," Miss Jean M. Gordon, New Orleans, La.
4. "Accidents to Working Children," Edwin W. De Leon, New York, First Vice-President, Casualty Company of America.
5. Discussion of:
   (a) Vacation work and vacation permits.
   (b) Acts regulating street trades.
   (c) The regulation of child labor in sweat-shops, home industries, etc.
   (d) Advisability of prosecuting parents as well as employers.
   (e) Child labor statistics.

VII. Saturday Afternoon, January 23d, 2.30 o'clock.

Chairman, Dr. Samuel McCune Lindsay, Vice-Chairman, National Child Labor Committee.

1. "Handicaps in Later Years from Child Labor," William E. Harmon, New York.
2. "The Difficulties of Child Labor Legislation in a Southern State," Hon. James R. McDowell, Jackson, Miss.
3. "Children in Dangerous Occupations," Charles W. McGinniss, Wheeling Stamping Co., Wheeling, W. Va.
4. Reports from State and Local Committees. (Continued.)
5. General Discussion.
   Effectiveness of State Labor Departments.
   Adequate school law enforcement.

A reception to delegates was given by the Chicago Woman's Club at the Fine Arts Building, Thursday afternoon, at five o'clock.

Speakers and members of the Local Committee were entertained at luncheon at Hull House, 335 South Halsted Street, on Friday, at one o'clock.

The various Committees in charge of the local arrangements for the meeting did excellent work and their efforts, as well as those of the Chicago

Federation of Woman's Clubs, the residents of Hull House and various others were given an enthusiastic vote of thanks by the conference, at its close.

The local Committees were composed as follows:

Officers.—Chairman, A. C. Bartlett; Vice-Chairman, Mrs. H. M. Wilmarth; Secretary, Mrs. H. M. Van Der Vaart; Treasurer, W. F. Dummer.

Executive Committee.—Jane Addams, Dr. Frank Billings, Mrs. I. S. Blackwelder, Mrs. Emmons Blaine, Supt. E. G. Cooley, Hon. Edgar T. Davies, Dr. Henry B. Favill, J. Fitzpatrick, Mrs. Henry Hart, Prof. Charles R. Henderson, Mrs. Ellen M. Henrotin, Dr. Emil G. Hirsch, Judge Julian W. Mack, Cyrus McCormick, George Perkins, T. W. Robertson, Julius Rosenwald, Dr. Graham Taylor, T. K. Webster.

Committee on Halls.—F. T. Hopp, Henry Thurston, Sherman Kingsley.

Press Committee.—Graham R. Taylor, Luke Grant, H. E. Fleming.

Finance Committee.—Mrs. J. T. Bowen, Allen Pond, W. F. Dummer.

First Session.

At the first session, held in the banquet room of the Auditorium Hotel, the Chairman, Mr. Isaac N. Seligman, presided, and reports on the work accomplished during the past year were presented by the General Secretary and the District Secretaries and appear in full in other parts of this volume.

Second Session.

At the second session, Mr. A. C. Bartlett, of Chicago, presided, and the meeting was opened with prayer by Rev. Snuth Thomas Ford, D.D., President of the Chicago Church Federation Council. Mr. Bartlett said:

Members of the National Child Labor Committee, Ladies and Gentlemen: While the delegates to this conference are cordially welcomed to Chicago, it does seem a travesty upon the much boasted civilization of the twentieth century that you have come together at the very heart of this great prosperous Christian country to consider the fundamental,—yes, the elemental questions of common humanity which you are here to discuss.

While the men and women, and a very large proportion of the children of the United States are living in the twentieth century, a comparatively small number of helpless boys and girls are living in the Middle—in the Dark Ages. And this condition is not by common consent of our citizens, adults and minors, but is due to the greed for wealth, the enterprise of a few manufacturers, miners, and sweat-shop conductors, and to the ignorance or poverty of natural, or the rapacity of unnatural, parents.

It is difficult to conceive that in this what I have called Christian country, it is necessary to enact and enforce laws against depraving, against the more or less slow murder of children, for the sole purpose of acquiring dollars, but experience has taught that the process of Christianizing some of our otherwise respectable and Christian citizens is too slow, and that we must appeal to the law-making bodies and to the executive branches of government for relief from this condition of child enslavement. And so this National

Committee and other kindred organizations are informing, educating, arousing our intelligent people to a realization of this injustice, of the crimes which are committed against these wards of ours, and urging promptness and universality of action. Much has been accomplished in the different states, but if I understand the situation correctly, you are not asking for action in the individual states of the Union so much as for federal legislation that shall be at once comprehensive and conclusive.

In furtherance of this object, you are holding this conference, confident that the good work done in former meetings of this kind will be continued through wide publication of the discussions, by eminent men and women, you are here holding.

Among those who will be prominent in these discussions is a gentleman of whom a New York citizen recently said:—"No real reform is inaugurated and prosecuted in our city which does not have the moral and financial support of this gentleman."

I have the honor and pleasure of introducing Mr. Isaac N. Seligman, of New York, who will address you upon "The Duty of a Rich Nation to Care for Her Children."

Following the opening address by the Chairman of the National Child Labor Committee, Prof. Charles R. Henderson responded as the personal representative of the Governor of Illinois, and read the following letter from the Governor:

"My Dear Sir:—I acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 17th inst., enclosing tickets to the annual meeting of the National Child Labor Committee. I thank you very much for your courtesy in enclosing the tickets and for your kindness in consenting to represent me at the conference, which I regret I am unable to attend personally.

"I am very much interested in industrial questions, and especially in the problem of child labor. I have been much gratified at the progress which Illinois has made in recent years in lowering the percentage of child labor employed in our manufacturing establishments. This has been steadily reduced and is now but 1.2 per cent. of the total number of employees, the lowest percentage shown by any state from which reports have been obtained.

"These results have been achieved through the co-operation of the State Factory Inspection Department, school officials and others. I am informed that the present policy has restored to the schools of Chicago alone more than 16,000 children.

"Two years ago the maximum age of compulsory school attendance was fourteen years and children between that age and sixteen were no longer subject to the control of the school authorities. The last General Assembly enacted a law providing that between the ages of fourteen and sixteen years children, when not employed, must attend school. Great benefit has followed from this enactment and the school attendance throughout the state has been increased by many thousands.

"I trust that the deliberations of the conference will result in the further

amelioration of conditions surrounding children and you have my hearty good wishes to that end.

"Kindly express my regret at my inability to attend the conference.

(Signed) "CHARLES S. DENEEN."

The addresses of Mr. Seligman and Prof. Henderson are published in full elsewhere in this volume.

The special topic of the evening was the Federal Children's Bureau and brief addresses urging the establishment of this Bureau are reported in the symposium under that head.

The session closed with a stereopticon address on "Types of Working Children," by Dr. A. J. McKelway. The speaker presented a large collection of photographs taken from Southern cotton mills and from Northern child-employing industries, tending to show not only the types of children employed, but various effects of such employment.

Third Session.

At the third session, reports were presented from state and local Committees and appear in this volume under their proper titles. The special topics for general discussion were as follows:

(1) Exemptions to Child Labor Laws. In leading the discussion on this topic, Mr. Edward W. Frost, Chairman of the Wisconsin Child Labor Committee, said:

"Exemptions in child labor laws are to child labor workers what indiscriminate giving is to the laborers for scientific charity. They are our thorn in the flesh—our constant provocation to wrath.

"The man or woman who is responsible for the passage of a child labor bill and its management before the legislature, can never know at what moment some harmful amendment exempting certain classes of children or all children in certain industries will be sprung upon the legislature. Eternal vigilance is indeed the price of a good child labor law. However moderately and carefully it may have been drawn, and whatever smooth sailing may seem to be before it, there are rocks and perils ahead until the last vote has been recorded and the governor has attached his signature to the bill. Even then constitutional questions in the courts and the ever-present dangers from lack of public interest and understanding or from inefficient enforcement confront our law on every hand.

"When those of us who have come to bear these responsibilities meet at times like this in 'experience meetings,' we naturally recount our struggles and compare the widely differing conditions which confront us North and South. Uniformity seems often almost hopelessly far away and sometimes we are almost ready to wonder whether the struggle is after all worth while. Or sometimes forgetting the division of powers in our scheme of government and the necessity of local initiative and responsibility we are tempted to seek some royal road to uniformity, some short cut to our goal in the visionary form of a federal child labor law. We must fairly face the fact that exemptions represent an inevitable stage of progress in the development

of child labor laws. They are quite as often the product of good though often ignorant purpose as of evil intent. They represent a natural step in the evolution of the model law. Without them the first child labor law of your state, the hardest to get, whose passage was the greatest victory in your long war, could never have been obtained. Be patient as the framers of good laws have ever been patient. In our frequent mourning over harmful exemptions, let us not forget that the brewer or tinware manufacturer, proud of his business and confident that young boys and girls working for him are well cared for, and exposed to no undue risks, feels the same discouragement and wrath when he is confronted by a law which excepts or exempts his business and refuses him the right to employ children as other manufacturers do. With what enthusiasm would he not echo the statement in the National Consumers' League handbook—'The best child labor law has no exemptions?'

"For many years at least there is little likelihood of such uniform child labor laws as would be possible in a small and compact European state and under a highly centralized government. While we may hopefully advocate great central points for every child labor law, the wide diversities of climate and population will make exceptions and exemptions necessary. Who among us, however high his motive and faithful his service, has yet attained to his own standard of a child labor law? Do we not all regret the exemptions in the laws of our several states? And who has not seen to his sorrow an exemption once struck out, re-enacted in response to the demand of some 'interest' or at the request of some well-meaning and misguided friend of the children.

"In this short paper, whose purpose is to state the general situation and to open the way for discussion of special exemptions and specific problems, there is no opportunity to discuss the wisdom or unwisdom of the most common exemptions. For general purposes they may be grouped in two classes.

"(a) The harmful exemptions whose purpose is apparently to keep certain occupations and certain classes of children outside of the beneficent protection of child labor laws and

"(b) Exemptions benevolent in their purpose, but often harmful in practice.

"Under the first class would clearly come exemptions which permit night work for children under sixteen, work in school hours for children under fourteen and work at certain dangerous or unwholesome employments where their work is believed to be economically productive. Fortunately each year lessens the number of such exemptions though they are sadly common still. Under the second class would come such exemptions as that which is such a blot on the new District of Columbia bill, permitting little children to work in school hours to aid in the family support, and in some states to work late on Saturday evenings or in the holiday season, or, lest little children should play too much, permit them to work without permit or restraint in street trades, as newsboys, or in messenger service. Vacation work

for children under fourteen would be placed by many students in this same class.

"There is such a thing as righteous wrath. There is more rarely than we think, a time roundly to denounce unwise exemptions and possibly the men who advocate them. But we who often grow impatient of public ignorance and indifference as to child labor dangers must remember our own recent indifference and ignorance and how much we have yet to learn.

"And especially, if I may speak from the standpoint of one who has appeared before many legislative committees on behalf of many children's measures, must we guard ourselves, there and elsewhere, against wholesale and indiscriminate denunciation of employers and against a scornful or uncompromising attitude toward amendments which seem to us unwise or do not fit into our general plan. Few endeavors call for more patience, tact and skill than a legislative campaign for a stronger child labor law or in defense of a threatened law.

"The men and women who are working for the improvement of conditions of children, and especially for better child labor laws, have an inestimable help in the confidence that they are engaged in one of the noblest and most unselfish of human endeavors and that for the present, at least, they have behind them the best and most intelligent spirit of the age. It is pre-eminently the children's day, their needs, their rights, their possibilities have never before loomed so large on the world's horizon. The stars in their courses are fighting for the children and whether or not there are occasional defeats and the weariness of hope deferred, we are certain that by others if not by us this victory will be won on behalf of the children of the world."

Miss Jane Addams, of Hull House, added: "I wish to call the attention of the conference to the fact that every statute dealing with child labor which has been pronounced unconstitutional by any court in the last five years has been so pronounced on account of its exemptions."

(2) Employment Certificates. This discussion was opened by Mrs. Harriet M. Van Der Vaart, Secretary of the Illinois Child Labor Committee, who said in part:

"A child labor law is effective or ineffective very largely in proportion to the method that is used in giving the working certificate.

"A number of years ago, here in Illinois, these certificates were left in the hands of notaries. We found on investigation that the law was almost ineffective. In the factories one-third of the children at that time were below the required age. An undertaker, the proprietor of any little shop in the neighborhood, could become a notary and give certificates to the children of his acquaintances in that neighborhood. Parents did not seem to realize that a solemn oath was required on their part to obtain this certificate, but looked at it simply as a permit which it was necessary to obtain before the child was allowed to go to work. Sometimes the parent did not even accompany the child, but would write a note to some friend who was a notary, asking him to make out the necessary papers to allow the child to go to work.

"It would, in my judgment, be a mistake to place the issuing of certificates in the factory inspector's office, as the inspector would then be placed in the position of investigating his own work.

"The placing the responsibility of issuing the final certificate in the hands of the school authorities is perhaps the best plan, but this, too, must be safeguarded. The experience in Chicago illustrates the necessity for this. When our present law went into effect, the issuing of certificates was left in the hands of the school authorities, which was interpreted to mean that the head of every parochial school and of every public school throughout the state had the responsibility of giving the necessary paper allowing the child to work.

"For three months investigations were made of the schools located in the industrial districts to learn if the working certificates were being given to the children of fourteen. Many facts were secured showing that children were getting certificates who were not entitled to them. In a very short time it was discovered that the law, because of this system, would again be largely ineffective.

"Conferences were held with Archbishop Quigley and Superintendent Cooley, which finally resulted in establishing a central office for the giving of these certificates. A representative of the parochial schools and a representative of the public schools give the certificates.

"Since this time the child who wishes to go to work must first get his school, birth or church record, and then, with his parent, go to this central office where the child is measured and weighed, the oath of the parent is taken and if the proof of age is satisfactory the working certificate is given. For the last five years this central office has been a part of the regular enforcement of the law in Chicago. This clause should be in the law and enforced throughout the state. It was also discovered that there was another loop-hole to the law, viz., a clause which says children seeking certificates without having regular proof of age may go before the county court and the oath of the parent or guardian will be accepted in place of the required proof of the child's age. As the law did not provide any means of ascertaining the facts about these children and learning if there were any proofs of the child's age, parents were not slow in finding out that the certificate could be easily obtained from the county judge. Judge Carter, of the county court, called a conference of interested people, which resulted in the Secretary of the Consumers' League undertaking the investigation of the ages of the children who come to the county court. Her recommendation is accepted by the judge, who sends the child to the central office, where the paper from the court is taken in place of the school, birth or church record, and the working certificate given. In these two directions voluntary work is doing much for the effective enforcement of the child labor law in Chicago. Experience has proven to those interested in the enforcement of this law in Chicago that the giving out of labor certificates from one central place is the most effective way of safeguarding the working child."

Mr. Ryder, of Nebraska, urged the importance of having employment certificates issued by school authorities. He said, "I find that they will not

abuse the privilege, that they rather lean to the side of keeping the child in school than exempting him."

A delegate inquired about the issuing of certificates for parochial school children and Mrs. Florence Kelley replied: "Parochial school evidence is no better than public school evidence. In New York it is taken in exactly the same way as public school evidence. The child must bring the statement of the executive officer of the parochial school that the child has finished five years of the work of the school. In addition to that, it must bring its birth certificate entirely independent of the school, must read and write to the satisfaction of the examiner for the Board of Health."

Mr. Davis, of Massachusetts: "There is no child labor law in the State of Massachusetts which the parochial school is obliged to keep. They keep no register unless they feel like it; they make no reports to the truant officers unless they feel like it; the parochial school will not invite the truant officers of their own account and the truant officers need not visit the parochial schools. From all that I can learn here in Chicago, I understand that almost the same difficulty exists here. Without any question, in my judgment, our law regarding compulsory education and the issuance of certificates breaks down absolutely at the point of parochial schools."

Another delegate replied: "I am a truant officer of the city of Chicago. We always go to the parochial schools and have for one year. Before that time, in my eight years' experience, I found that almost every priest welcomed me and helped to explain the difference between the private and public school. They are not compelled by law, but there is an agreement between the archbishop and the superintendent of compulsory education and they are glad to make the agreement."

(3) Evidence of Age. When documentary evidence cannot be procured, what procedure to obtain further evidence? Mr. George A. Hall, Secretary of the New York Child Labor Committee, opened the discussion as follows:

"In view of the great tide of immigration at the port of New York, probably no other city in the country has had to face so much difficulty in enforcing the requirement of the New York State law that children who desire employment certificates must produce proof of age. Recognizing this situation, the New York Child Labor Committee has been making, since its organization in 1902, a constant study of this whole question. Having ample proof that parents' affidavits as sole evidence of age could not be safely relied upon the Committee in 1903 amended the law so as to require the filing of documentary evidence (birth certificate, baptismal certificate or passport) it was found, after two years under this law, that some two thousand children in New York City could not produce such evidence, and being refused 'working papers' in many instances went to work illegally. To prevent this, and to obviate a growing antagonism to the law among school officials and others, the Committee amended it to permit the acceptance as proof of age (provided only that the usual documentary evidence could not be furnished) of what was called 'other documentary evidence' such as transcripts of Ellis Island record certifying as to the age of the child on date of arrival, transcripts of hospital, relief society and institutional

records, family bibles, vaccination certificates, etc. This change was beneficial in helping a considerable number of children to obtain certificates who otherwise would have failed. During the year 1908, in one borough only (Manhattan) in New York City, 890 children were granted certificates upon evidence described above. While refusals for insufficient evidence of age were thus materially reduced, it was learned that many children were still unable to get any of the kinds of evidence allowed by the law. As this difficulty existed chiefly in the larger cities the Committee again secured an amendment to the law, making it possible for children in New York, Buffalo and Rochester, in case none of the other kinds of evidence mentioned in the law could be produced, to obtain certificates after having undergone a physical examination independently by two physicians of the Department of Health, if such physicians were willing to sign a certificate that in their opinion such children were fourteen years of age and upwards. The amendment provided an interim of ninety days between the filing of the application for such physicians' examination and the actual examination in order to allow sufficient time for a thorough search for any of the regular kinds of documentary evidence. This law has been in effect a little over a year and seems to be working satisfactorily, although the Committee believe that the physical examination should be more thorough than at present. During 1908 one hundred and eighty-eight children made application for such an examination, of which number one hundred and twenty-five passed the examination and secured certificates. Of the remainder, nineteen were refused because unable to pass the examination, thirty secured, during the ninety day period, documentary evidence on the basis of which certificates were granted in the regular way, and fourteen cases are now pending.

"To facilitate the securing of documentary evidence of age in October, 1907, an agent was placed at the Committee's expense in the Manhattan Borough Office, New York City (Board of Health), where certificates are issued. With facilities at her command, such as a card catalogue of steamers and steamship lines, detailed data from foreign Consuls in New York City, showing how to write abroad for birth certificates, and in countless other ways this agent has been of great value in helping the parents to secure satisfactory documentary evidence. As a source of information as to the actual enforcement of the law both by school officials and by officers issuing certificates, this agency has been of very great assistance to the Committee in its work. Summing up our experience in this matter of securing evidence of age for children, our Committee strongly feels that under no circumstances should affidavits of any kind be accepted; that school records as evidence are not reliable; that documentary evidence should be insisted upon, and that physical examinations and other such expedients should be used only as a last resort. That documentary evidence can be secured in the great majority of cases has been abundantly proved by the study of this question in New York City."

Important suggestions were made on these topics by State Senator James R. McDowell, of Mississippi, who especially discussed the beneficial re-

sults in that state from the new law requiring certificate of age and refusing to exempt orphans and the children of dependent parents from the operation of the law.

Dr. Samuel McCune Lindsay, Vice-Chairman of the Committee, who discussed the importance of having legislative bills carefully drawn, said: "I do not think that up to the present time we have been sufficiently careful in the language of our statutes and in the work that we put upon the actual technical framing of the laws. We can avoid a great deal of the necessity for further legislation with a little more care at the right time, not only in determining what things we want in a law, but also in thinking how those wishes are to be expressed and made effective.

"A very distinguished writer, once giving advice to a company of young authors, said: 'The number of times a book will be read depends upon the number of times it has been written;' it is likewise true of a statute, that its effectiveness in operation will depend upon the number of times it was written before it was enacted.

"Some of you may know that in the British Parliament where there has been a longer period of experimentation in legislation than in any other legislative body and in which we are more or less interested, there is now a legislative drafting department made up of experts, to whom every bill is sent. No member of the British Parliament, and many distinguished and able lawyers are members of the British Parliament, would think of such a thing under present conditions in England as writing a bill. A member may formulate in a definite way in the form of a brief what he wishes to accomplish in a proposed measure, but he sends it to this drafting department made of men trained for years, and they put it in legal phraseology, with reference to what the existing law is, and to the changes it requires. The drafting expert brings in the text of a bill with comments and memoranda accompanying that text, and a very great deal of labor is saved to members of Parliament in their discussion of a bill, and many legal controversies are avoided after a statute has been enacted.

"We have made a very small beginning in a similar way in two or three of our states, where we have, as in New York and Wisconsin, a legislative reference library and librarian, but in no case in this country have those departments of our state service done just exactly what is being done in England in the way of legislative drafting. They help in getting information for legislators, but they cannot do much in the way of formulating legislation.

"In the report from Kentucky, we heard, yesterday, that the Kentucky law is a very excellent law. We heard, in the report of Miss Ingram, this afternoon, of the changes that were recently effected in that law. I notice that in the Kentucky statute as read, it is possible now, under this law for a child to go into a factory as a helper, because the word 'employed' is used instead of following the language which has been carefully worked out in the standard child labor law prepared by the Consumers' League and published by our National Committee. It is especially valuable as a standard,

not in the fact that all of the facts necessary to be covered in every state can be put into a standard law, but in the phraseology of the general features of all good child labor laws. It is not without previous thought, a great deal of previous thought, that these words are suggested. Where a prohibition of child employment is to be enacted, we should say 'No child, etc., shall be employed, permitted or suffered to work in or in connection with any factory except,' then put in the extent to which you propose the law to go. Now, that will prevent an evil that will undoubtedly arise in time, of children allowed to work in a factory, but not technically employed or on the pay roll.

"A stricter phraseology will usually meet with no opposition, probably in Kentucky there would not have been the slightest opposition to the addition to these words in the act had it been thought of at the time. I believe that we should deal very practically and plainly with such questions in these state Committee conferences. We ought not merely to discuss whether we want the age limit increased, whether we want factory inspection, whether we want this, that or the other thing that we feel would improve the condition of our child labor legislation, but we ought to confer together through the office of the National Committee and send the actual draft of these provisions for discussion, so that we may bring the experience of the older Committees or those who have had longer experience in such legislation to bear upon the situation in places where this legislation is needed, and thus anticipate a good many of our difficulties.

"My point is simply this, that a little greater care in the formulation and framing of such amendments to our laws which we shall from time to time ask the legislature to enact will probably be productive of good results and save us a great deal of trouble in the future and also save us from the necessity of asking for additional amendments."

Miss Gordon: "I would like to suggest that Louisiana has been a little doubtful about having so many exceptions. The district attorney drew up the original bill and then the minute it was attacked went into court and declared every section in it unconstitutional, so we will be a little bit wary in the future in drawing up our bills.

"But I would suggest that Kentucky and South Carolina could overcome that question of the children coming under the head of not being employed by putting in the section that the Louisiana law has, that the presence of any child around a mill or factory, except during meal hours, so that they can bring in meals to the parent or sister or brother working there, is *prima facie* evidence of his employment in that mill."

Mr. Lindsay: "That is a very good suggestion. I think that it might be well to say again that the practical thought I had in mind was this, that if in every case where legislation is contemplated or desired, a draft of what you intend to frame was sent to the secretary of the National Committee, with a request that it be sent around to be scrutinized and suggestions offered concerning it, I think it would be a little better and would enable us to embody such provisions as the one which has just been mentioned.

"Of course you cannot always rely upon lawyers. They are generally

very good men, but they will make mistakes, like a lot of other men. I recall one instance of a bill that I was particularly interested in myself and spent a great deal of time in drawing. It was submitted to three of the ablest constitutional lawyers in the state where that bill was to be introduced, all of them disinterested men, and I have not the slightest suspicion to this day that any one of those three men had the slightest desire to nullify the act. Each of the three said unqualifiedly that the bill would stand the constitutional test in that state. It was passed, and within six months, the superior court of the state declared the law unconstitutional and its decision was affirmed afterwards by the supreme court of the state."

Others who took part in this discussion were Miss Frances Ingram, of Kentucky; Mrs. M. J. Barnard, of Minnesota; Mr. John J. Ryder, of Nebraska; Factory Inspector Edgar T. Davies, Mr. Edward W Frost, Miss Jane Addams, Mrs. H. M. Van Der Vaart, Mrs. Florence Kelley and others.

Miss Ingram explained that Kentucky has the provision suggested and that the local committee was aided in drafting the law by the General Secretary of the National Committee.

Mr. Ryder objected to the amount of time consumed in the reading of papers and urged upon the Committee the importance of devoting a larger portion of the sessions to an open discussion from the floor.

Fourth Session.

At the fourth session, devoted to the subject, "Child Labor a Menace to the National Health," Dr. Frank Billings, of Chicago, presided. The papers by Dr. Woods Hutchinson, Dr. Albert H. Freiberg and Dr. James A. Britton appear in other parts of this volume.

Marked interest was shown in a paper by Dr. Thomas Morgan Rotch, of Cambridge, Mass., on "The Roentgen Ray as a Factor in Child Labor Reform." Dr. Rotch suggested the substitution for the chronological test of a physiological age based by means of the Roentgen Ray. He produced a number of charts, showing various stages in the physical development of the child and explained the tentative nature of his suggestion by the fact that investigation has only begun. His charts, showing the development of the wrist bones as affording a possible index of general physical development, led many members of the Committee to express the hope that this investigation, carried far enough, might offer a basis for conclusions leading to a more scientific classification of the physical fitness of children for the forms of employment in which they seek to engage. In discussing this address, Dr. Abt, of Chicago, said: "If this plan of undertaking to indicate the physical development of the child shall be developed into a system that is perfectly reliable and easily managed, as I hope and think it will be, I think that we will have a system by which we may have the proper indication of the development of the individual child. Dr. Rotch is doing a great work. It is necessarily pioneer work, and none of us are yet able to pass judgment upon it. But I predict for it a great and brilliant future."

The Chairman, Dr. Frank Billings: "I was requested by the Secretary

to say a word to you this afternoon. I hesitated, but finally consented Finally I was asked if I would act as Chairman, and as Chairman, make such remarks as I desired. Inasmuch as I have had considerable to do with the public affairs of the city, county and state within the last few years in reference especially to the care of dependents who suffer mentally and physically, I may be able to say something of practical interest to you.

"In the state institutions of Illinois to-day, there are about 17,000 inmates, and 11,000 of these are insane. Fifteen hundred of them are in the Institution for the Feeble Minded at Lincoln. The remainder of them come under general charities. In the almshouses of the state, outside of Cook County, there are about 700 dependents, and in Cook County about 2500; so that there are in round numbers about 20,000 dependents in the state. The cause of insanity and the causes of feeble mindedness have direct relation to delinquency in childhood, to child labor and to the laws which permit of marriage between individuals who are degenerates, often insane or feeble minded. While the question is far-reaching when we come to discuss it from the side of the cause, still it does bear a certain relation to juvenile delinquency and to child labor.

"It is unfortunate that neither the National Government nor many of the state governments have taken any definite and controlling action in reference to child delinquency and child labor. In our own, big, rich city, it was not until within the last few years that a Juvenile Court was established. Even with its establishment, there was no attempt made by those in authority to look into the physical or mental condition of the children brought to the court, and finally it devolved upon individuals and private corporations to take the matter up.

"The excellent paper you have heard this afternoon from Dr. Britton has been made possible by the work of the Children's Hospital Society, of Chicago, which has taken care of all the expenses of the Juvenile Court in relation to the care of the sick. Not only has it tended to the sick, but it has watched and cared for the children after leaving the hospital, and in many instances has furnished medicine, spectacles and other helps to those unable to obtain this sort of assistance from the county government. The county now sees the importance of the work and from this time on the expense of the care of these children who are usually physically sick and often suffer from some mental impairment, will be borne by the county.

"What Dr. Hutchinson says of the farm is true, and yet I think he overdrew the picture. I wonder if any of you have any idea of the number of agriculturists in America. Do you know that out of fifteen millions of votes cast in the last presidential election, about nine millions were cast by agriculturists? Do you know, therefore, that with five or six children in the family, how many there are of the children of the agriculturists? You see the number is enormous.

"I was brought up on a farm, too. I imagine Dr. Hutchinson was also, from what he said. I also taught school in the country, so that this gave me a wider acquaintance with the condition of children in the country.

There are many hardships and privations on the farm. There are cold winter mornings when the boy must get out of a warm bed, but it is a good warm bed, and he may be obliged to light the fire in the kitchen before he attends to the stock in the barn; and his fingers and his toes are chilled, and often frosted, as he performs his chores; but he returns to a warm kitchen and a plentiful breakfast. At the district school he is taught the simple rudiments of the three R's until he has mastered the simple books afforded him.

"Renan has said of the people of France that the scientists and the great men come from the peasantry. A common expression in our own country is that great and rich men pass from shirt sleeves to shirt sleeves in three generations. We may ask them why the country boy makes a good man. Because he may see the sky in the day with the sun passing from horizon to horizon. He may see the moon and the stars. He may see nature in the grass, in the trees and in the birds. He does not see them as an artist at the time, or he does not know that he sees them at all. But this sort of thing soaks into him. He cannot help it. And in spite of himself he is a good man, because he has communed with nature and has been down to Mother Earth. Why does this boy often develop when removed from such surroundings? Because the brain lies fallow.

"Now as to the work on the farm and its effect upon the child. Work does not hurt him because he does not work hard. He cannot, for he does not know how to work. It is true that his body grows physically tired; but he has good air, much sunshine and the food, while perhaps not well prepared, is given to him in plentiful amount and furnishes the proper nourishment for his growing tissues. You do not have to beg a boy or girl in the country to eat. The life they lead makes them hungry and hence they grow strong, sound bodies. In such a body there is a mind which may be developed. Those who have minds to observe, go to the city. If more of them went to the city, it would be better for all concerned.

"The city child needs just the environment of the country. There is a place for all of them on the farm. If, instead of erecting schools for them for manual labor in the city, they could be sent to the country and upon farms, I believe it would be the place for them. If their school opportunities were less there, so much the better in most instances. If the majority of them are well grounded in the three R's, they would be better off than with a smattering of a greater number of things and with an inability to write, read or use the elements of arithmetic. From what I have said you would infer, and I mean it should be so, that the farm is a good place on which a boy may grow up and it is also a good place for him to leave at a later date."

Dr. Henry Baird Favill, of Chicago: "From my point of view this program to-day is the sounding of a note of hope in the situation for the future, not so much because of its specific bearing upon the child problem, as because of the fact that it brings into proper relationship to all these questions the medical profession. It calls upon the medical profession to depart from its time honored and traditional duty of caring for those dis-

eased and to bring its contributions to the vast question of social improvement. The profession has in certain directions superior knowledge which should be expended, not upon what some call the narrow problems of sickness, but upon the constructive problems of health. For that reason I feel that not only is the community to be congratulated at the participation and contribution of the medical profession, but that the medical profession itself is to be congratulated at these evidences of inroads upon its traditional conservatism and its assumption of the moral obligation on the part of the individuals of the profession to contribute to every extent possible to these public problems.

"The question is one which appeals to us very strongly and oftentimes sentimentally, this question of the work of children. I am not going into any discussion now of the propriety or impropriety of child labor. That has been discussed and the situation is generally clear on that. Yet we are liable to drop into some misconceptions as to what we mean by child work and child play, and upon that score one could talk indefinitely. Assuming that child work, in the sense in which we are now using that term, is pernicious; what have we to say about child play as contra-distinguished from child work? Is it so beneficent; is it all good; is it the thing by which the child reaches its own best estate, whatever its possibilities may be?

"Now, that depends altogether upon circumstances. For children in the normal life of children in the country, in the small towns, in the town with open spaces, in the community with a simple life and simple conditions, the more or less primitive community of society, the play of the children is normal and to that extent is satisfactory. But the minute you come to consider urban conditions, you have to consider conditions abnormal to an inexpressable degree, and I am not so much disposed to draw the line in favor of the well-to-do as against the poor in this comparison.

"What happens to the poor child who is not allowed to work, who goes to school for a few hours of the day and then goes home to its more or less unhealthful habitation? What happens to that child for the rest of the day? Where does it play, how does it play, and what are the conditions of its play which tend to bring that thing which we are trying to bring to it when we shut it off from labor? I need not say to you, you know it perfectly well, there is nothing but emptiness for that child. It plays, to be sure, but what does it amount to? It must depend upon circumstances. But what worse off is that child, may I ask, than the child of the wealthy, in early years walking up and down the boulevard with a nurse and afterwards idling around in some sort of indifferent endeavor before he goes away to school? What does either of those children know of the matter that we are now talking about, the normal, healthy, joyous activities of children?

"Do you not see that at both extremes of this proposition we are missing the point? Therefore, we have to consider that there is a supplemental need, and this is the situation to put it in a nutshell: For every child we turn out of the workshop and every child we turn out of the school for many hours of freedom, we must provide suitable, we will say, playgrounds.

"There is the very crux of this proposition. We cannot conduct operations

of this kind one-sidedly and reach anywhere. We cannot, for example, put into effect child labor restriction laws without compulsory education laws, and we cannot put into effect child freedom laws without child amusement laws. Therefore, I think we may say that there is something more to consider in the question of child development than mere child freedom. That is the thing that I have in mind at this point.

"What do we mean by child development? What do we mean by the growth of a healthy body and presumably, under that condition, a healthy mind. Our whole notion on this subject of what is a healthy body is distorted. We are too apt to talk about a healthy body as though it was a question of a healthy anatomical body. The point of our mental system, as we Americans look for it to-day, is a great, big, overgrown and distorted product, and that is college athletics.

"What do I mean by that? That sounds radical and as though I had some sort of a grudge against college athletics. Not at all. Perfectly willing am I that college athletics should develop along the proper lines; that they should incorporate into their grossly distorted form of development all those individuals who are fit for it, who could stand the dangers involved in it. But I am now talking about the vast mass of boys, the mass of students who get no development at all; whose contribution to college athletics consists in a capacity to root in unison. Am I not right about that? Is not the whole mass of students engaged in holding up and applauding and backing in one way or another the few who have been able to stand the test and make good?

"The statement as to college athletics may be a little overstated. I will admit it is not quite a fair statement, but after all, it makes my point. What are we doing for the mass of students, the hundreds of students untrained, but interested in the ten students that can amount to anything in athletics? What are we doing with those thousand students? I want to say that I do not think there is one—well, there may be one per cent.—there is not five per cent. of the students of a college who could not be materially improved in physique and consequently in health by a development of physical powers under intelligent methods.

"All colleges have gymnasiums, some of them have more or less compulsory gymnastics, but I assure you gymnastics are not looked upon as a thing of real development in any college or school, and the consequence is that we have the mass undeveloped physically, and you would find it very strongly so if you should carefully examine into it. That serves only to make this point that I want to make, that we must bring up our children, if we are going to bring them up healthy, we must bring them up with the facilities for development, not of muscle, which is the coarsest kind of development, but of nimbleness, of activity, of respiration, quickness and accuracy, and all the things that go to make up the idea of the gymnastic ideal as against the athletic ideal.

"That is the crux of this whole developmental question and it is just the same for adults as it is for children, but the opportunities for results in children are incomparably greater than in adults. Therefore, I am going to

simply leave that proposition as I make it and say that we have got to push our lines of child culture and child succor together, and bring to bear upon the child proposition the developmental proposition of intelligence upon all the lines in order to make the freedom which we are trying to secure for children effective and productive.

"I do not know that I shall be called upon to speak again to-day, and I also hope not for your sake, and therefore I am going to make no allusions to the things that I have wanted to say in regard to Doctor Rotch's contribution, which will be very superior and impressive, but the point that I want to add is to say simply this one word: We all believe that the co-operation and co-ordination of the forces working to the same end and through various channels is absolutely necessary in order to get results. Things will concentrate at a focus or they will dissipate into thin air according to the co-ordination and concentration of machinery.

After thinking it all over, after arguing the question in all its bearings, the people who know most about this—and this does not include myself, for I do not know much about it, but the people that do know most about it, have concluded that a bureau of child study, of child interest, of child investigation or child development, whatever you choose to call it, as a central federal matter, having its influence—I won't say its authority—having its influence over the whole country—is the only rational procedure upon which the hope of any real progress in this direction rests."

Fifth Session.

At the fifth session, held in Orchestra Hall, Mr. Isaac N. Seligman, presided, and papers were presented by Hon. Andrew S. Draper, Mr. Howell Cheney, Mrs. Florence Kelley and Dr. Albert H. Freiberg. These papers appear under their titles in this volume.

Sixth Session.

The sixth session, held in the Banquet Room of the Auditorium Hotel, was devoted to a discussion of the problems of factory inspection. Mr. Everett W. Lord presided, and papers were read by Hon. Edgar T. Davies, of Illinois; Hon. John Williams, of New York; Miss Jean M. Gordon, of Louisiana, and Mr. Edwin W. De Leon, of New York. These papers, which are reprinted in full in this volume, were followed by discussions in which many of the specific problems of factory inspection were considered. Added to the exhibit of the work of the National Child Labor Committee, there was displayed, at this session, an exhibit of the charts and office file system of the Illinois Department of Factory Inspection.

Sixth Session—Second Section.

Because of the limited time and the great interest expressed by many delegates in a discussion of the problems of street trading, a special section on Saturday morning was devoted to this discussion. Mr. Edward W. Frost, of Milwaukee, presided, opening the meeting with the following remarks:

"In Wisconsin we have no street trades act. We have in our child labor

law an exemption of newsboys at certain hours, but without prescribing any educational or other requirements, and permitting them to sell papers. By a sort of tacit action the newsboys have never been considered regularly under the child labor law. But this exemption is one of those things every one of us dislikes and there is always danger in an exemption of an attack in the courts on the ground of special legislation. Therefore it is our feeling that we should take the newsboy clause from the child labor act, and in its place have a newsboys' and street trades' act.

"In Milwaukee we have the newsboys, boys who distribute handbills, and bootblacks who, save as the Juvenile Court or the compulsory education people follow them up, are not touched by legislation. We want, if possible, to find a way to regulate all this street trade for boys.

"In the National Consumers' League Handbook there is a model street trades law, and I suppose the discussion might properly take this form. What state, represented here, has a good street trades act which is working well, or what state is represented in which there is about to be introduced a good streets trades act, and what is the general outlook for it?

"Mr. Hall represents a state with a good street trades law, and I suggest that he tell us about it."

Mr. George A. Hall, Secretary of the New York Child Labor Committee: "Our street trades law applies only to the sale of newspapers, periodicals and magazines in cities of the first and second class. It does not apply to boys who may be peddlers, distribute handbills, or handle other articles referred to. In fact, only a year ago the 'magazine and periodical' clause was inserted in order to include boys selling the *Saturday Evening Post*.

"In the first attempt in 1903, the enforcement of this act was placed with the police authorities in each locality. It was soon found that such a provision was absolutely futile. Not only were they not interested in it, but they could not be made to see its importance, or to do anything about it. After a strenuous effort, a small squad of four men in plain clothes was secured to go about and do a little enforcement, but even they found on an average only two boys a day who were violating the law in the big city of New York, although our Secretary found thirty in one afternoon. In 1907, the law was amended, and its enforcement put in the school authorities' hands, in addition to the police. The school people asked that the enforcement should not be taken entirely from the police, because they might want to call on them for aid. The present system of enforcement in our state is therefore by the police and the attendance officers. It has not progressed greatly, so far as adequate enforcement is concerned. I think in only three of the nine cities in which the law applies, has there been any serious attempt to enforce it. In New York, Rochester and Troy, some fair efforts have been made in this direction, largely through the efforts of the Committees and other interested people who believe in the law.

"In New York City our Committee secured and exhibited twenty-five large pictures which showed the non-enforcement of the law—young boys selling at three o'clock in the morning, for example. This aroused the officials to action and something was accomplished.

"But first, in order to get the situation cleaned up, the superintendent of schools assigned fifty of the seventy-five attendance officers to that one task during two weeks of the school term beginning last September. The men were divided in day and night squads and covered the entire five boroughs of the city. The public had a right to expect them to accomplish something; they would be a pretty poor lot of men if they did not do something with so large a number. They did clean up the situation by explaining to the boys that they must have badges, telling them where to get them, so that after two weeks' work by those fifty men, one began to see badges blossoming out nearly all over the city. But that was not enough.

"An effort was then made to secure the co-operation of the school authorities to make this work permanent. As a result, they now have a squad of four men giving their entire time to it. They go on at three in the afternoon and work until eleven, being on duty during the busiest time of newspaper selling. They move about to different centers and try to cover the different boroughs in the course of the week. There has been considerable improvement since they began, though not all we would like to see.

"In Rochester there has also been a serious attempt to enforce the law. That is again through the personal efforts of the women and others interested in the subject. By going to the President of the Board of Education and the other school officials, they have brought home the importance of the subject and have gotten them to take up the subject seriously, with the result that badges are being pretty generally worn in Rochester and also in Troy.

"The following are, in my judgment, the weak points in the New York law: The minimum age of ten is absolutely bad; it should be at least twelve. Our Committee stands for the twelve-year age limit. The night-closing regulation is another bad feature. I can see no reason why boys should be permitted to work on the street until ten o'clock when the law requires boys in stores to stop at seven and in factories at five. We urge at least an eight or nine o'clock closing hour.

"The penalty clause is perhaps the weakest feature in the law. It was drawn in conference with some of the judges of the Special Sessions Court in our city, but it has proved ineffective. It provides that for violation, the boy may be arrested and brought to the Children's Court and dealt with according to law—whatever that may mean. It permits the court to commit the boy to an institution of the faith of its parents. Of course, we do not favor the commitment of a child who, for instance, leaves his badge at home. But some adequate penalty is greatly needed. We should like a penalty that would make is possible to fine the parents for the delinquency of the child. That cannot be done under the present New York law, because the statute does not contain a delinquency clause by which the parents can be reached, as in some other states. We are working toward that and hope to get such a provision in the law.

"In the distribution of handbills, I think our law would hold the employer under the provision regarding children working in mercantile and other establishments. By that law, children under sixteen shall not be employed, without a certificate, in the distribution or transmission of goods

or messages. However, I do not know of any attempt to reach them in that particular way.

"The law requires the boy to wear a badge in a conspicuous place, and here we find a great difficulty. The boys often claim, as a reason for concealing them, that the older boys snatch them away to 'put them out of business.' Sometimes we have to almost undress a boy to find where the badge is. Perhaps another real reason for concealing the badge is that the boys like to give a dime novel effect by suddenly flashing the badge from somewhere underneath. In order to aid in determining whether the proper badge is being worn, the color of the insert card is changed every year.

"Our law also fails to require proof of the age of newsboys. In New York, the parent merely signs an application blank showing approval, but it does not prove the boy's age. I believe a provision should be added requiring the same documentary evidence as is required for other forms of employment."

A delegate asked if the law applied to newsgirls, and Mr. Hall replied that "newsgirls are absolutely prohibited under sixteen," and also in Massachusetts.

As to the question of "contributing to the delinquency of children," the Chairman said: "I have grave doubts whether there could be a conviction for permitting children to sell newspapers. We have that law in Wisconsin, but it is not easy to enforce. We took the law largely from Denver, and have had several convictions under it, but they have to be pretty strong cases, as where little girls were permitted in hotels with men, or allowed in saloons under immoral conditions. I do not believe that, in ordinary cases, the court would enforce that delinquency law against a father if he permitted a child to sell papers up to ten o'clock at night. I think the Massachusetts plan is the one we ought to follow."

The issuance of badges was discussed, Mr. Hall explaining that in New York City there are twenty-six district superintendents who issue them. Mr. Frost explained the Massachusetts and New York laws and Mrs. E. J. Bissell, of Rochester, N. Y., said: "A good point in the Massachusetts law is that requiring the badge to be worn on the right arm. We have had considerable trouble and are now changing the badges, slipping a strap through and strapping it to the right arm." (The method employed in English cities.—Ed.)

Mrs. E. Gaylord Holt, Grand Rapids, Mich: "We have no street trades law in Michigan, though we have tried hard to get something done. Mr. Lovejoy has advised that perhaps a city ordinance is better than a state law, because the state law would be hard to enforce. We have in Grand Rapids, an evening press association, which is doing a great deal for the newsboys, giving the Sunday afternoon pleasant hour and things of that sort, which are very helpful to the boys, and such work has given the idea that we do not need an ordinance in our city when the conditions are apparently so good. They are certainly doing much good to the boys, but we have as many as 250 boys under ten years old selling papers, and some not more than five or six years old.

"Last year we had a little boy of six years old killed by a street car at night, and we know of other bad things. There are a few little newsgirls, perhaps a dozen in the city, and some of them are down on Market street, a low part of the city, standing by saloon doors to sell their papers. I would like a little light on what we can do by a city ordinance or otherwise."

THE CHAIR: "It would be better to try to get a state law along the lines of the New York law, applying to cities of the first, second and third class. It is hard to pass such a law through a city council, and even if it were passed, it would be put in the hands of the local police. You can bring more pressure to bear in the legislature. Mr. Hall has suggested two or three changes in the New York law. We would probably agree as to age limits, the prohibition of young newsgirls and the limitation as to hours, but what shall be the penalty? Shall the child be punished, as in Massachusetts, or can a law be framed that will reach the parent, or the newspapers, or both?"

Mr. Hall was asked if the newspapers oppose the law in New York, and he replied that, when the bill was introduced there was a little opposition, but of no account, and that since the law is in force there is no opposition on their part. In New York, there is no way of reaching the newspaper that employs a boy contrary to law. It is held that the child is his own employer.

JULIUS F. WENGIERSKI, of Rockford, Ill.: "About two years ago, when I was probation officer here in the Jevenile Court, I especially looked up the night newspaper trade. A conference was sought with the newspaper men. but none of them came. We had hoped they would help us solve the problem. We thought that, with their help, we should not have much trouble with the boys at night. Of course, when they did not show up, it meant that we had to do the best we could. I stayed out at night and picked up boys and girls on the streets, found where they lived and sent them home. Then, through the co-operation of the relief and aid societies and partly through the co-operation of the Bureau of Charities, I got a full report of the home conditions of these children.

"This report was given me within a few days after I had picked up the child. At the time of my picking up a child, I would tell him that he was not to be out on the street alone at night. I had no law to back me, but the moral law and the real purpose in finding out the home condition was to find out whether these children were really dependent.

"Out of about seventy-five cases investigated, we found there were only two cases of dependency, and Mr. Kingsley, of the Relief and Aid Society, found work for one woman who needed help, and in another case where a boy who was employed had to help support the family, another position was secured, whereby he would not have to work on the streets at night.

"We went further. I tried to get Mr. Davies, the factory inspector, interested. I wrote him a letter. He forwarded that letter to the attorney general to get an opinion regarding the child labor law. Of course, the opinion was that a boy that was selling newspapers was not in the relation to the newspapers as an employee, but was really a merchant. He made a contract to purchase from the newspapers and he could sell these papers.

"We ascertained that some of these papers were being sold on commission. He said, notwithstanding that fact, they were still merchants, so we were handicapped all around. We could not do anything. We had no law to back us, with the exception of the Juvenile Court law, which is the same as in New York, and no children under ten years are allowed to peddle anything at any time. But the children between ten and sixteen we were after especially.

"But we did go in one case to the extreme. There were three little boys, ranging from eight to twelve, whom I picked up several times here in the loop district and sent them home every time. Upon an investigation of the home conditions, it was found that the father was working and was earning five dollars a day, and they owned the property they were living in, that these boys were earning on an average fifteen dollars a week peddling papers down town. We also had an investigation made of their school records and found they were truants. They were at school about five days of the month, and when there, they usually slept most of the day as they naturally would after being out until two or three in the morning. We arrested this father and had him tried by one of the municipal judges. Fortunately, the judge saw the case as we did and fined the man two hundred dollars for contributing to the delinquency of these boys; but he suspended the fine on condition that the father, in the future, would keep the boys off the streets. I never saw those boys on the street again.

"I wrote a complete report of this work and gave it to Judge Mack and also to Mr. Kingsley, and the result was that we now have in Chicago an officer of the police department especially delegated to this work between six and twelve. Those are his regular hours. Of course, all that he has to back him is that he is a police officer. He has no law, except the Juvenile Court law, which gives him the privilege of keeping children ten years old and under off the streets."

Mrs. Florence Kelley: "Last night I saw a little girl peddle just around the corner from our meeting. In New York that would be a misdemeanor and the child would be taken up and the parents fined."

Mr. Wengierski: "In that case we would find the conditions at home and learn whether the child is a dependent or a delinquent, and charge the parents with contributing to the one or the other."

Mrs. Kelley: "But in New York, the doing of it is a misdemeanor. The peddling itself is a delinquency. We do not want peddlers under sixteen on the streets."

Miss McDowell, Chicago University Settlement: "I was astounded to find the other day that my newspaper comes to me, in the morning, because two little boys, one twelve and the other thirteen, get the paper at half-past two at night at the corner of 47th and and Halsted streets. Those little boys, who go to school, carry papers around so that we get them in the morning at four o'clock, all the year around. They are working for a man with whom we contract for our newspapers, and I wish, in some way, we could get at that question.

"Then there is the question of the little girl selling newspapers. I was

quite shocked in St. Louis twice this fall to find a girl five or six years of age, selling newspapers just as I came up from the big station there; in the worst part of the town, after dark. There is a little girl between six and seven years of age selling papers every morning at ten o'clock in front of one of our great bank buildings right here on Monroe and Wabash streets, so it does seem as though we ought to get at this. We cannot touch the newspapers. We hear a great deal of sentimental talk about newsboys' societies doing so much for newsboys, but they do not seem to care anything for work of this kind."

Mrs. E. J. Bissell, Rochester, N. Y.: "Rochester is a city of 200,000, with 700 newsboys. We have this law in New York state, and up to a year ago, the board of education did not even know they were responsible for issuing the badges. We found perhaps one boy in thirty, in some cases one in fifty, with a badge. The Committeee on Child Labor visited first the board of Education and had a serious talk. The board promised to co-operate with the police commissioner or to get his assistance.

"The policemen themselves had had a fee of twenty-five cents for issuing every badge, so they were disposed to give no help, and the only way even under our good law was through a mass meeting called for another purpose, a mass meeting of about 1200 women. The subject was brought up, the city was districted, each woman was asked to consider herself a member of a Vigilance Committee in her hours of shopping. Every woman whose business took her to the city at seven or eight o'clock in the morning was asked to co-operate and to follow out one little plan. The moment a boy was found, or two boys, in some cases there would be five before you would walk a hundred feet, that woman would get to the nearest telephone and say to the board of education and the police department, I found so many boys at such an hour at such a place.

"It took but five days to send in such a fire to both these departments that the school superintendent and then the president of the board of education called up the Chairman of this Committee and wanted to know what they could do in the matter, and arranged for a meeting.

"We had our meeting and called attention to the fact that badges should be issued, and they asked for two weeks in which to secure new badges and enforce the law, and of course, for two weeks we stopped telephoning.

"At the end of two weeks the badges came and the superintendent had, in the meantime, called up each principal. The principal was to send his boys desiring badges to the board of education. The truant officer came there, also the Chairman of the Child Labor Committee, and each child had an ordinary little card which had to be signed, and the badges were issued and the children were instructed to wear them. For possibly three or four weeks we saw a great many badges on the streets, and then the badges disappeared gradually. We felt we ought to begin our campaign over again. We found one little boy four times in ten days, a child of seven selling papers and pleading for money—he had 'lost twenty-five cents,' and, of course, he was obtaining money.

"We secured the help of the Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children, and we made this a test matter. As the outgrowth, the board of education appointed one truant officer, the commissioner of police appointed another policeman and he then districted the city, and those two men were required to report every child found. In the new compaign, they took away, in three days, fifty badges from boys. No badge was reissued until the parents, at least one parent, accompanied that child back to the office of the board of education. That had a very good effect on the child as well as on the parent. Many of the men became interested and to-day I think we have an unusual city.

"Just before I left I had a report from a business man, saying that he had one serious charge to make against the Child Labor Committee of Rochester. He said that where formerly anyone, at seven o'clock or six o'clock in the morning, could find any number of small boys selling papers; now he had to walk two blocks before he could get one at an early hour."

THE CHAIR: "To rectify such conditions as these, I understand that the New York and Massachusetts laws combined, seem to make the best basis for a law at this time. A state law, when limited to the larger cities as it is proper to do in most states, is probably better than to attempt to secure the passage of an ordinance by the common council of a city. First, the child must be directly proceeded against, however uncomfortable that may be to many of us in many cases, but the child labor laws do not reach the employer save when the direct relation of employer and employee can be established.

"A child labor law, or a law amending it, should provide strictly against the employment of children to sell newspapers, but the merchant newsboy, as has been said, is a factor that must be watched very carefully. He can only be reached, it would seem to me, through the Juvenile Court and the taking away of his badge. I personally greatly object to the fining of a little child. I am in favor of a penalty, if it could be drawn in legal and practical form, by which we could bring in the father and fine him. The statutes for contributing to delinquency are good, and in very strong cases might be effectual."

MISS JANE ADDAMS, Hull House: "I think about six years ago we made an investigation of a thousand newsboys within twenty-eight hours. We tried to do it in twenty-four hours, and at least eight hundred were taken in twenty-four hours, and two hundred more afterwards. The one thousand boys were very carefully questioned; we found exactly what made them leave school, the circumstances of their family, how much their earnings were needed, their truancy record and all the rest. It was considered, I think, a very good piece of work.

"The conclusion we reached was that there was no law practically designed to reach such a situation. A newsboy is a merchant and does not come within the child labor regulations. This matter was taken before the publishers' association here with the hope that with the example of the New York and Boston newspapers before them, we might be able to secure some

favorable action. But the publishers' association here put us off, I regret to state, and did not finally take any action in the matter at all. So far, we have been unable to secure any legislative action on the subject. It is a very disgraceful situation, I think, for Chicago to be placed in while the Illinois child labor law is so good. The City of Chicago is a little careless, if not recreant, towards the children who are not reached by the operation of the state law."

A DELEGATE: "Mr. Chairman, I was just wondering if it would be practical for this meeting to gather the main points of the law that we want to work for."

MRS. FLORENCE KELLEY: "I want to say a word as to the New York law. I think perhaps we are all saying, with reference to street trades, a great deal more than we need. It is all pure nonsense to say that a little newsboy who is selling papers is doing anything essentially different from a peddler who is selling chewing gum. We have in New York, under the penal code enforced by the Gerry Society, a provision that no girl under the age of sixteen can peddle anything on the street. A girl cannot sell violets, she cannot sell chewing gum or anything else; and the penalty for violation is a very stringent penalty and is very rigorously enforced. We do not know of such a thing as a girl under sixteen years of age peddling. There is no essential difference between selling information, selling papers and selling chewing gum. The trouble is we are afraid of the newspapers. We are not afraid of the chewing gum manufacturer and the other people who sell goods to the children to sell on the streets, but we are afraid of the newspapers, and so we have worked out a combination that a newsboy is a merchant, which is simply ridiculous. Is a newspaper merchant different from a chewing gum merchant? He is not. He is just a little boy under sixteen years old.

"The largest city in this country has stopped absolutely peddling on its streets for girls under sixteen. It has enforced it as to girls. It is enforced almost absolutely with regard to peddling other things by boys, but there was a little winking at it during the panic. There were a few children peddling things around at that time.

"There is no excuse whatever for our keeping up this fiction as to 'merchants' any longer; let us tell the truth. Let us say that we know that we can stop girls from selling anything until they are sixteen years old. We know that we can stop boys from selling all other things, and how absurd it is to say that we cannot stop them from selling newspapers! There is a very large body of convalescent tuberculosis patients who would be glad to enter the field in that work of selling papers if they did not have the odious competition of these little boys. There is a large number of one-legged and one-armed men in New York who do now have stands. Sometimes three or four or five of them together, of whom I know, can be found at different times at the corner of Twenty-third street and Fourth avenue selling papers. If we could prevent children under sixteen years of age from selling papers as we keep them from selling other things, it would

be a perfect Godsend to those handicapped men, and the men who, lacking an arm or a leg, can perfectly will tend a stand.

"Any suggestion that we make as to what ought to be done about newsboys I think should carry with it a very urgent request that from now on the juvenile courts make an effort to card their records. There is not a Juvenile Court in this country which has any adequate record whatever of the previous occupation of the children who come before it. I know whereof I speak, because I have met a majority of the judges and the probation officers. If we could get trustworthy information as to the previous life of the children who come into the Juvenile Court, I do not think it would take us three years after we had such records printed until we had brought about a marked improvement in the employment of children."

Miss McDowell: "I would like to explain that we do not make any difference between the peddlers of newspapers and of chewing gum in Chicago. We make no difference between the chewing gum merchant and the newspaper merchant. We have no such provision in our law as you have in New York. We gave the matter up, not because we were afraid of the newspapers, but because we could not proceed without the help of the newspapers."

As to the proper age limit for street trading, there was a difference of opinion. It was agreed that no girls under sixteen years should be allowed to peddle anything on the streets. The age for boys, Mr. Hall believed, should be twelve years instead of ten. Mrs. Kelley urged that it should be sixteen. She said: "When you get your Juvenile Court records, you will find it just as bad for boys as it is for girls."

It was agreed that a careful educational test should be required, thus making it possible to determine more accurately the effects of street trading upon the school record of the children.

The question of penalties proved a difficult one. Mr. Hall severely criticised the New York law which is preposterous in its penalty clause. To the question why the newspapers cannot be held responsible, the Chair said: "You must remember that we are compelled to work along certain legal lines. You must establish the relation between the newspaper and the boy selling papers, and in most cases you cannot do that. You can forbid the boy from doing something which your law defines, but you cannot touch the newspaper unless you can show the connection."

Mrs. Kelley suggested that the father of the child should be brought into court and dealt with under a quasi-criminal statute.

Mrs. Bissell: "Someone has suggested that they fine the parent a dollar. In Manchester, England, where I looked this matter up last spring, I found that they often have to fine the parent a dollar. That is the minimum fine, the maximum being five. They found it worked a very great effect. They also prohibit selling papers within a mile of the city center."

E. N. Clopper, Cincinnati: "In discussing street trades, we ought not to confine ourselves too strictly to newsboys, for there are so many other kinds of street trades that I think they ought to be considered. There are many children who are employed in the markets of our large cities and they

work just as hard as the newsboys and are exposed to just the same influences. There are boys employed by the postmasters of the cities to deliver special delivery letters, who work until ten o'clock at night, and they do not have any time except some ten minutes for lunch between three o'clock in the afternoon and ten o'clock at night. It may be that the postmaster even is violating the child labor law in getting those boys. There are so many children in America, particularly children of foreign parents, who are selling a great variety of different things that any measure adopted along this line should include the means of getting at those children also."

Seventh Session.

The seventh and closing session of the conference was held in the banquet hall of the Auditorium Hotel on Saturday afternoon. Mr. Lovejoy, General Secretary of the National Child Labor Committee, presided. Papers were presented by Mr. William E. Harmon, of New York; Hon. James R. McDowell, of Mississippi, and Mr. Charles W. McGinnis, of Wheeling, W. Va. The papers of Mr. Harmon and Senator McDowell appear in other parts of this volume. Mr. McGinniss, in discussing from his practical experience, "Children in Dangerous Occupations," said:

"I remember my first day at work. I was ten years old. I cried all day, wondering why I should be taken out of school and put to work. I had the best mother one could desire. I was not old enough to understand the conditions that made my mother and other poor mothers send their little boys to factories and mills, too young to guard against injury from the cruel machinery.

"While I worked during the first year, I one day heard the scream of a boy who had been a schoolmate of mine, but was now also working in the factory. Looking toward him I saw one of the cruel tack-making machines' gear wheels chewing the skin and flesh off his chest. I ran toward him, keeping my eyes on him the while. The gear wheels were now twisting him around, now chewing the flesh and skin off his arm, and by the time I reached him had reached his back. He lay in bed for six months trying to regain what he had lost. As long as I knew him afterwards, he was never strong.

"One day I almost lost some of my fingers in the same kind of gear wheels. I was cleaning my machine with a piece of waste. The gear wheels caught the waste and snatched it from my hand. I should have been dragged into the wheels had I tried to hold it. But some unseen power seemed to save me.

"No matter how many times a boy has a close escape from injury, he soon forgets about it and becomes careless again. His mind is not mature enough to comprehend the dangers that surround him. Just as a child in the light of day has no regard for the fear that comes to him at night in the dark, the boy in the factory, at work at his machine, gives no thought to the possible injury that will follow his play or inattention. I have had persons working for me who were hurt three times, and I have known of others who were hurt four or five times.

"Another little boy working in the factory with me—he was about eleven or twelve years old—started to clean his machine before the time appointed. He was not old enough to realize why rules required that no cleaning be done while the machinery was in motion. The waste caught in the gear wheels, and his index finger was crushed off close to his hand. I could mention from one to two hundred other accidents, mostly through carelessness on the part of those not old enough to comprehend the rules of factories and mills. In Milwaukee I saw a little boy lose three fingers at the second joint of his right hand. He was about twelve or thirteen years old and worked in a mill. It was his duty to stand at the back of a press and sort the elbow blanks cut from the small sheet of iron fed into the press by an older boy standing in front of it. A piece of iron was not released in the usual way, and without stopping to realize the danger, the boy put his hand under the die, to extract it. The larger boy continued in his work at the other side, not knowing of the other's attempt to dislodge the iron. He put the press through its regular operation—and with the next 'elbow' there were cut off three fingers of the little hand.

"A girl who is now working in our factory worked previously in a glass factory in West Virginia, and had the ends of two fingers cut off when she was twelve years old. She relates that one day she put her arm under one of the big dies, while she had her foot on the treddle, just to 'show off' to another girl. I have seen young boys trying to see how close they could hold their fingers to the die without having them cut off. Older boys never think of taking such risks.

"I do not believe it pays to hire children. My records show that I can get a better output, with less percentage of bad work, from employees over sixteen. Under that age, they require close supervision both in attentiveness to duty as well as in the kind of work produced. This means the loss of the foreman's time and temper, the output of the machine is reduced, orders are delayed, and the work of other employees is held back. I have been foreman in five different factories. When I took charge there were always better results than before I came. There was quicker work done and there was a smaller percentage of bad work—for I did not hire children to do the work.

"There are exceptions. Some boys are so strong physically, so full of life, they rush right into danger, in their heedlessness. Where a boy is alert and not strong physically, he sometimes comes to harm in dangerous work where physical strength might save him. So you see, the boy with fair chance is he who is strong both physically and mentally. Only a small percentage of boys are fortunate enough to have both qualities. The large percentage, failing in one or the other, is in need of protection.

"At the Wheeling Stamping Company, I have instructions to keep the wages of employees at a high standard. In our press department we have a system of piece work by which each employee—whether girl or boy or woman or man—earns the same wage per piece. All have the same chance—it is not the case of having a boy do a man's work at a boy's price."

These papers were followed by a general discussion on various topics

of interest relating to the conference. The Chairman said: "I regret, in the deliberations of the Chicago meeting, that our program has been so exceedingly full with the excellent papers, that we have had altogether too little time for a floor discussion of the various problems presented. People have come from all parts of the country with reports from their state committees covering a wide range of topics and many phases of experience. We ought to have had all of them read and each one discussed. Those who have had no opportunity to read their reports are requested to send them at an early date for publication in the proceedings of this meeting."

Under the two-minute rule, the Chair then gave an opportunity for general discussion. Mr. Frost was requested to refer again to the subject of vacation permits, previously discussed.

Mr. Gebson, of Omaha: "We grant certificates under a ruling of our county attorney and we are able to call back the certificate at any time. When school convenes, we take back the certificates and send the children back to school. It is done under the regular certificate plan, except we can call them back at any time."

Miss Todd, Factory Inspection Department, Illinois: "I think that after all is done and said, there is an increment of the people who are doing the work, the people who are going through the factories and inspecting them, who get impressions that are infinitely valuable, and we ought to get from them the contribution of their impressions because they are the people who know certain things that nobody else knows. They ought to get up and state those things as nobody else can state them.

"What I wish to say is this: From an experience of two years in Illinois, it is apparent to me that we must have some humanizing social influence to go with our work. For instance, we go into a factory and find that a child is working ten hours a day in violation of the law, as the child is fifteen and can only work eight hours. The employer is brought into court and that child is thrown out of work and we never know what becomes of the child or its family. A few months ago I found a child that had been thrown out of work where it was getting six dollars a week, and I found that child working at home sewing; it was the only support of the family and I had put the child out of this position.

"In our work we see constantly the greatest misery and suffering and we simply go on like a snow plow and enforce the law. Those children come from parents either very poor or very ignorant, they go out of the school at fourteen and the teachers do not know anything about them. They come from the worst and most poverty stricken homes, and there is no social influence whatever for them. Therefore, I feel that the work of factory inspection in Illinois should be supplemented by a Committee on child labor; to which we, when we see these heart-breaking instances of wretchedness, sickness and poverty and misery, can give information so that the cases will be followed up and the human element will enter into the factory inspection. We can not do it; it is not our business to do it. If you people could see what we factory inspectors see as we go through the factories, you would realize how absolutely necessary it is to bring the social humanizing element

into the lives of these children. The settlements do not get them, the schools do not know anything about them, they are simply segregated in wretched homes and in these great factories that exploit them for their profits. The parents are poor and can do nothing for them and we can do nothing for them.

"We must enforce the law, but we must also have this humanizing element, and I am convinced that we must supplement our work by something on the humane and social element side."

Mrs. Florence Kelley: "I want to speak a word on that subject because Miss Todd has now, after fifteen years, expressed the same old need that we felt in the first month after we went to work as inspectors in Illinois, and felt increasingly every month that we worked throughout the four years of our term; and which we feel in New York now with every improvement in the law and in its enforcement. The better the law and the better the enforcement and the longer the children are kept out of work, and the longer they are kept in school, the greater the need not only of scholarships to eke out what the child would have earned, but the greater the need of another entirely different function also to be performed by a child labor committee.

"Many children between fourteen and sixteen years old, who need scholarships because they have not finished their school work, need that help and have failed in that work because the community in which they live slipped the first stitch when the children failed to make their first promotion away down in the first grade of the public school. Who are the children who need scholarships? Who are the children who come into the juvenile court as all sorts of delinquents between the ages of ten and sixteen years? They are very largely the discouraged school children, the children who are older than their class, taller than their class, ashamed to be in the class to which they have to be sent back when they fail of promotion. They are the children, perhaps, who were sent out of school by the school doctor, quarantined because there was scarlet fever or something else at home; who thus lost their first promotion and stayed two years in the first grade and fell behind and were ashamed and again spent two years in the second grade. Thus we have a mass of children, who, when they ought to be in the eighth grade are in the fifth, fourth or third. A large part of the children who are not equipped to go to work when the law allows them to work, are these who needed just a little watching and help and pushing forward at the beginning of the story.

"We never shall deal wisely with our working children until we follow up those who get belated early in their school life, those who are so cruelly on the street at work when they ought to be in the early grades of school. There is not an honest factory inspector or an honest truant officer in this country who does not feel this need, and there are sadly few really patiently-working committees backing up the factory inspectors and the truant officers with this much-needed work.

"While I am saying the better the law and the better the enforcement, the greater the need of this auxiliary work with the school children in the

earliest grades, I want to put in a word on behalf of the children for whom here in Chicago, the second city of this Republic, there is no effective protection. On the way to our meeting last night I saw on the street a most miserable little chewing gum peddler. I do not think he was twelve years old. I am told there is no law which could banish him from the streets. He could not have worked in a factory so late; he could not have worked in a store so late. But there he was out in the rain in Van Buren Street in a part of this city which is not salubrious for little boys at night; there he was working, and it was nobody's business so far as I could learn to look after him.

"Why do we shirk the street children? Why don't we give exactly the same protection to children in the street trades that we give to those in the factory trades and the stores, and to the messenger boys? Surely the requirements ought to be made the same for employment in all occupations. There are no other occupations so bad for the children as the street trades, including the messenger service. As I understand it, Illinois does give the messenger boys now the same care that it gives to the cash children and the factory children. But we keep up a queer fiction that a child who sells things on the street differs in some way from the child who works where things are sold in a store. Let us clear our minds up about that, make it plain to ourselves that it makes no difference to a child whether he sells goods in a store or papers on the street, except that work on the street is worse for him rather than better.

"Let us state the fact that most of us are afraid of the newspapers; we do not try to get the same legislation for the protection of the newsboys that we have for the factory children and the store children because we do not believe that the newspapers will help us. The factory employers were not all like Mr. McGinniss; they did not all help us get the factory laws. They were not all like our New York manufacturer who is the largest contributor to our scholarships. The newspapers may not all be like Mr. McGinniss or Mr. Arnstein, but let us get clearly in our minds that nobody is so directly headed for the juvenile court as the newsboy, and let us get exactly the same protection for the newsboys that we have for other children. Since the Illinois law is the second best in the country, why don't we, when we get this new child labor committee of which Mr. Lovejoy speaks,—take for its first task getting the best laws in the country for the newsboys, just as Illinois set the standard for the whole country when it was the first state to establish the eight hours day for the older children?"

The Chair: "This is a most significant appeal from Miss Todd, who represents the State Department of Factory Inspection of Illinois, and brings to us forcibly one of the most important functions of such committees as this. While I have no authority to do so, I would suggest that, as one of the immediate results of this meeting, the present small Child Labor Committee known as the Hull House Committee, be enlarged to become an Illinois Child Labor Committee, and I hereby appoint Miss Jane Addams and Mrs. H. M. Van Der Vaart, the Chairman and Secretary of the present Committee, and

Miss Todd, as a provisional Committee of three to get together at the earliest opportunity and formulate the plan and personnel of such a committee as I have suggested."

Mr. Julius F. Wengierski, of Rockford, Ill.: "All of the Chicago papers, especially the Sunday papers, distribute their Sunday papers Saturday night. This means that every newsboy peddling Sunday papers has to stay up all night Saturday in order that you may get your Sunday morning paper. The newspapers should be educated. Let us not stop for a moment in our efforts to make the newspapers realize that they are robbing the youth, robbing our future citizenship. They are bringing out a good deal of publicity, but they are not telling us what they are doing themselves in robbing the future public. The newspapers will not do this thing until we demand it. If we do not get our newspapers on time we find fault with the newspapers. Let us say to them that we would be willing to get these papers a little later if necessary. Let us say that we would much rather have men deliver them than boys. The newspapers will do it if we demand it."

The Chairman then called upon Mr. John M. Glenn to speak briefly of the importance of systematic and scientific investigation.

Mr. Glenn: "Some one has said very appropriately that what we want most is not investigation, but doing things. I think the answer is that we want the facts before we can get other people to do things. You cannot get the newspapers, who are the greatest educators of the people, to work for you until you get your evidence very strongly together and have them present it to the public. I think whatever we do in the way of investigation, we should do very thoroughly. Unless we do that, it sets us back rather than ahead."

Miss McDowell: "I think we have enough facts on the newspaper question now. What we need is money to popularize those facts until we reach the common people who read the newspapers and are able to let the reading public know how they get their papers, we cannot do very much. When that information is brought home to them, something will be done."

Miss Todd: "That is why we need a Committee. I cannot tell you how rejoiced I am to think we are going to have the public back of us, helping to work out these things which we know are wrong, and which we cannot remedy without this Child Labor Committee, that will give us some sense of co-operation and work together with us. The inspectors must have that assistance. Children who go to school and sell papers get up so early in the morning that they are so stupid during the day they cannot do anything. That was clearly demonstrated to me during my experience in teaching school."

A delegate replied: "I have had instances in school where children have gone to sleep over their desks because they got up at two or three o'clock in the morning to put out city lights and to sell papers. In those instances we warned the parents to take the children away from their work. Where they would not do it, we prosecuted them for contributing to the delinquency of their children."

Dr. Ryan, St. Paul: "I have not been able to attend the meetings of this conference in previous years, so I am sorry that I missed the opportunity of learning so many things, and perhaps also what I have to say has been said already, better than I could say it; but the thought occurred to me this afternoon that this child labor movement has a much wider significance than merely in connection with the welfare of the children themselves. I think it has an immense importance for the betterment of labor conditions in general. As I view the matter, the social industrial system of the future will have to be either socialism or a humanized and regulated system of competition. One of the essential methods of humanizing and regulating competition will be to secure what has been called the national minimum; the national minimum of advantages or of welfare for all workmen. The national minimum of safety and sanitation and protection against advantage, against non-employment, against accidents and sickness, and last and perhaps most important of all, a national minimum of wages; that is to say, a wage which will be sufficient to maintain men decently. Then above that wage let men go as far as they can through their productivity or through their efforts in any way that is honorable.

"I think this child labor movement is an important move towards that national minimum of wages. We know very well the deplorable conditions in England during the period known as 'wage slavery' which were brought about largely because women competed with men and thereby brought down the whole wage scale.

"Women to-day are doing the same thing. That is, of course, a tremendous problem. I do not know how that can be remedied, the fact that women are bringing down the wage scale of men by competing with them and working for less wages; but the competition and the bringing down of the wage scale by children can be prevented and will be prevented to a great extent by the child labor movement.

"If we can get conditions everywhere so that the children will not work generally until they are sixteen years of age, the number of children at work will be much less, and the general effect on the wages of adults will be much smaller than it is at the present time. Those children who are at work will be much better able to take care of themselves and to get fairly decent conditions of wages and employment than the children working at present are able to get."

Miss Jean M. Gordon, New Orleans: "I would like to ask any of the states that have a sixty-hour week provision, but no regular stipulated number of hours per day, as to what is done in the matter of the length of the working hours per day. The Louisiana law is sixty hours per week, and some of the manufacturers contend that they can shorten up one day and lengthen another.

"The point I have in mind is the laundry work. A great many of the laundries work the women until eight or nine o'clock at night two or three nights a week, and especially will that be so with the coming on of the winter travel South, when the Mardi Gras festivities are on and the city is

crowded to overflowing, and the laundry work has to be gotten out in maybe a twelve or twenty-four hour limit. For instance, the women do not come to work on Monday until one o'clock; that gives them six hours off on Monday. Then they tack on to three other days of the week either two or three hours, as the case may be, to the night work."

Miss Todd: "After sixteen years of age I know they work continually in Illinois. After sixteen years of age they can work all night and there is no law by which the hours can be restricted."

Edward W. Frost: "We have the same rule in Wisconsin. No child under sixteen years of age can work in a laundry in Wisconsin, but after sixteen they have the inestimable privilege of working themselves to death."

The Chair: "Is there anyone here representing a state that has regulated the employment of girls or women in laundries? The National Consumers' League made a substantial contribution to the literature on this whole subject by compiling material for the United States Supreme Court in the Oregon case, and I wish, if Mrs. Kelley is willing, she would say in two or three words what was shown in that compilation and as to its result."

Mrs. Kelley: "Well, that was a terrible disillusionment. The United States Supreme Court ruled that the Oregon law is good law so far as the Federal Constitution is concerned. The Oregon law says that a woman may not be required or permitted or suffered to work longer than ten hours in twenty-four in any factory, mechanical establishment, or laundry. But now what do the state courts say? The Court of Appeals of the State of New York, when asked to sustain and enforce the substance of the Oregon law, says, 'Oh, the Supreme Court of the United States only meant that for Oregon. The Supreme Court of the United States only meant to restrict the working hours of women in Oregon. Oregon does not get into conflict with the Constitution of the United States.'

"But the Constitution of the State of New York makes it impossible to restrict the working hours of women and so apparently the other fifty-one states and territories now have to amend their state constitutions to comply with the Oregon constitution."

Mr. Edward W. Frost: "May I say one word as a lawyer on this last point? Every state is supreme on all these things, but the splendid victory won by Mr. Brandeis and the National Consumers' League in the Oregon case has silenced in each state the claim that it is unconstitutional and affecting federal rights to limit the work of adult women and girls over sixteen. That does not settle the law for each individual state; it cannot, under our constitution, but it has given us great assistance and I think it will even ultimately bring around the Court of Appeals of New York."

Miss McDowell: "We have been advised by experts, and by this wonderful brief of Mr. Brandeis, that I am told was worked up for him by various women, and I think personally that in order to have these laws beyond the pale of unconstitutionality, we must put them under the head of health. If you get them there for the protection of the health and get them out of that realm of the freedom of contract which we shall have to fight

for a long time, I think we are safe and that is what we intend to try to do here, to get our next law under the head of protection of health."

Senator James R. McDowell, Mississippi: "I will say that there are certain provisions which in no wise affect a woman's right to contract in our state, except on the ground as Miss McDowell says, of health, and the further ground of morality. For instance, the law in our state forbids a girl, or a woman for that matter, working in any place where intoxicating liquors are sold. At least that was the old law when prohibition went into effect the first of the year. That was on the ground of public morals; and there are others covered on the ground of public health, not only of the woman or mother, but of her children and the children that should come. But it is not interfering at all with her freedom to contract."

Mr. Glenn: "I would like to say that Doctor Favill read, at the International Tuberculosis Congress, one of the ablest papers I have heard read on that line of thought, and I would advise everybody interested in the question of the police power and public health to read that paper. It was published in the tuberculosis number of *Charities and the Commons,* in April, 1908."

In closing the conference, the Chairman said: "To me it is always a moment of sadness because while I appreciate the permanent value of the papers and addresses given and all the inspiration we have received, I instinctively look out into the next twelve months and think of the hard battles we must fight and of the many respects in which we shall fall short of the ideals and standards we have set for ourselves during these inspiring hours.

"I trust that we may be encouraged by each other's help. The office of the National Child Labor Committee in New York does not claim to be the embodiment of a great amount of wisdom. What we do claim, however, is that we probably receive more inquiries and more suggestions from various parts of the country than come to any other point on this one subject, and we shall greatly appreciate it, when you have any question to ask or any knotty problems to be solved, and have no one nearer at hand with greater wisdom to whom you can refer them, if you will send them into the office of the National Child Labor Committee. We do not claim to be able to answer them, but we claim that we shall probably be able, without much delay, to refer them to someone in some other part of the country who has faced and met and perhaps solved the same problem that troubles you.

"I want you to understand that I am not asking for your money in the invitation I wish now to extend, for it costs the minimum fee practically to carry to our members the literature we send you; and when we ask you to pay a membership fee of two dollars a year we are simply asking you to allow yourself to receive our publications, as that fee just about covers the cost of sending them to you.

"We want you to join the National Child Labor Committee, because when any important measure comes up like this proposed Federal Children's Bureau, we want to know of several thousand people scattered through the

country to whom we can send the latest news on the subject and ask them to do certain specific things.

"Here is a case in point: To-day the interest in the minds of a number of Senators and Representatives in Washington as to this Federal Children's Bureau is due to the fact that there are several thousand people in the country who are writing them and getting other people to write them and getting the church to pass resolutions, and doing other things to impress upon these representatives what they want. A man cannot be a fair representative of his constituents unless he knows what his constituents want him to do, and the only way he can know that is for us to tell him what we want. For this reason we desire to have you join us in this great campaign. We are just at the beginning, as you can see by the points brought out in the papers presented at this conference; we are just at the beginning of the solution of this complicated national problem."

A formal resolution of thanks to the local Committee, the people of Chicago and the newspapers for the publicity which they gave the proceedings, and to all others who helped to make the conference a success, was enthusiastically adopted, and the conference adjourned *sine die*.

State and Local Committees in Co-operation or Affiliation With the National Child Labor Committee.

ALABAMA Child Labor Committee.—Dr. B. J. Baldwin, Montgomery, Chairman.

CALIFORNIA (State Committee in process of formation).

Child Labor Committee of the Juvenile Improvement Association, LOS ANGELES.—Mrs. Oliver C. Bryant, 1503 Magnolia Avenue Los Angeles, Chairman; Miss Evelyn L. Stoddart, 1052 Beacon Street, Los Angeles, Secretary.

SAN FRANCISCO Child Labor Committee.—Miss Alice L. Griffith, 2608 Webster Avenue, San Francisco, Chairman; J. C. Astredo, Diocesan House, San Francisco, Secretary.

Citizens' Child Labor Committee of the DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA.—George M. Kober, M.D., 1603 Nineteenth Street, N. W., Washington, Chairman; Henry J. Harris, 1429 New York Avenue, Washington, Secretary.

GEORGIA Child Labor Committee.—Hon. Clifford L. Anderson, Atlanta, Chairman; Rev. C. B. Wilmer, D.D., 412 Courtland Street, Atlanta, Secretary.

ILLINOIS Child Labor Committee.—Jane Addams, Hull House, Chicago, Chairman; Mrs. Harriet M. Van Der Vaart, 6710 May Street, Chicago, Secretary.

INDIANA Child Labor Committee.—V. H. Lockwood, Lemcke Building, Indianapolis, Chairman; Mrs. Helen W. Rogers, Lemcke Building, Secretary.

IOWA Child Labor Committee.—Prof. Isaac A. Loos, Iowa City, Chairman; Hon. Edward D. Brigham. Des Moines, Secretary.

KANSAS Child Labor Committee.—F. W. Blackmar, Kansas State University, Lawrence, Chairman; Mrs. Lelia Day Monroe, Topeka, First Vice-Chairman; Mrs. F. V. Bartlett, Kansas City, Second Vice-Chairman; Hon. W. L. A. Johnson, Topeka, Secretary.

KENTUCKY Child Labor Association.—Lafon Allen, Louisville, President; Louis B. Wehle, Louisville, Treasurer; Mrs. R. P. Halleck, 1240 Third Avenue, Louisville, Secretary.

LOUISIANA Child Labor Committee.—Solomon Wolff, New Orleans, President; Miss Jean M. Gordon, 1800 Prytania Street, New Orleans, Vice-President; Mrs. Cora Gumble Moses, Treasurer; Rev. E. H. Gilchrist, New Orleans, Secretary.

MAINE Child Labor Committee.—Scott Wilson, 120 Exchange Street, Portland, President; Hon. G. L. Crossman, Saco, Treasurer; Mrs. Ella

Jordan Mason, Biddeford, Secretary; Mrs. Charles F. Flagg, 110 Emery Street, Portland, Assistant Secretary.

MARYLAND Child Labor Committee.—Douglas W. Wylie, Baltimore, Chairman; De Courey W. Thom, Baltimore, Treasurer; Joseph C. Judge, 828 Law Building, Baltimore, Secretary.

Child Labor Committee of the Southwest District of the Federated Charities of BALTIMORE (Md.).—Miss Elisabeth Gilman, 614 Park Avenue, Baltimore, Secretary.

MASSACHUSETTS State Child Labor Committee.—Grafton D. Cushing, 717 Barristers' Hall, Boston, Chairman; Hon. Frank Leveroni, 814 Tremont Building, Boston, Vice-Chairman; Prof. Charles F. Bradley, 90 Mt. Vernon Street, Boston, Treasurer; Richard K. Conant, 101 Tremont Street, Boston, Secretary.

MICHIGAN Child Labor Committee.—Prof. Frank T. Carlton, Albion, Secretary.

Inter-Church Child Labor Committee, GRAND RAPIDS, MICHIGAN.—Mrs. H. Gaylord Holt, 28 Wellington Place, Grand Rapids, Chairman.

MINNESOTA Child Labor Committee.—Rev. John A. Ryan, D.D., St. Paul, Chairman; Mrs. R. G. Winter, 518 Groveland Avenue, Minneapolis, Vice-Chairman; E. G. Shulz, State Capitol St. Paul, Treasurer; Mrs. Mildred M. Barnard, 805 Seventh Street, S. E., Minneapolis, Secretary.

MISSISSIPPI Child Labor Committee.—Mrs. R. L. McLaurin, Vicksburg, Chairman; Judge T. E. Cooper, Jackson, Chairman Legislative Committee; Mrs. Corinne Deupre Bailey, University, Secretary.

Children's Protective Alliance of MISSOURI.—Prof. Arthur O. Lovejoy, University of Missouri, Columbia, Chairman; J. B. Chambers, Tenth and Chestnut Streets, St. Louis, Treasurer; Prof. Edgar James Swift, Washington University, St. Louis, Secretary.

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Child Labor League of BENSONHURST, L. I., N. Y.—Mrs. Anna H. Hays, 150 Bay Thirty-second Street, Bensonhurst, Chairman.

Consumers' League of BUFFALO.—John R. Howard, Jr., 404 Seneca Street, Buffalo, President; Miss Mabel Gillespie, 404 Seneca Street, Buffalo, Executive Secretary.

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NORTH DAKOTA Child Labor Committee.—Dr. John M. Gillette, Grand Forks, President; Elizabeth Abbott, Public Library, Grand Forks, Secretary.

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Child Labor League of WARREN, OHIO.—Miss Phebe T. Sutliff, 234 High Street, Warren, Chairman.

Child Labor Committeee of OKLAHOMA.—Mrs. D. M. Thorpe, Oklahoma City, President; Miss Kate Barnard, Guthrie, Secretary.

OREGON Child Labor Commission.—H. G. Kundret, 30 E. Eleventh Street, North Portland, Chairman; Mrs. Millie R. Trumbull, 305 Jefferson Street, Portland, Secretary.

PENNSYLVANIA Child Labor Association:

PHILADELPHIA Child Labor Committee.—J. Lynn Barnard, 108 E. Greenwood Avenue, Lansdowne, Chairman; Fred S. Hall, 1338 Real Estate Trust Building, Philadelphia, Secretary.

ALLEGHENY County Child Labor Association.—John W. Anthony, Pittsburg, President; Miss Alida Lattimore, 238 Fourth Avenue, Pittsburg, Directing Secretary.

RHODE ISLAND Child Labor Committee.—Right Rev. W. N. McVickar, Providence, Chairman.

RHODE ISLAND Joint Committee on Child Labor (representing the following organizations: The Providence Public Education Association; the Consumers' League of Rhode Island; the Rhode Island State Federation of Women's Clubs; the Local Council of Women of Rhode Island; the Providence Society for Organizing Charity; the Providence Public School Teachers' Association; the Barnard Club, and the Rhode Island Child Labor Committee of the National Child Labor Committee).—Mrs. Carl Barus, 30 Elmgrove Avenue, Providence, Chairman.

TENNESSEE Child Labor Committee.—Dr. James H. Kirkland, Nashville, Chairman; Rev. J. R. McCulloch, Nashville, Secretary.

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WEST VIRGINIA Child Labor Committee.—B. F. Allison, Schmulbach Building, Wheeling, Chairman; Dr. Harriet B. Jones, 80 Fifteenth Street, Wheeling, Vice-Chairman; Charles E. Blue, Wheeling Mold and Foundry Company, Wheeling, Treasurer; Miss Nola McKinney, Fairmont, Secretary.

WISCONSIN Child Labor Committee.—Edward W. Frost, Wells Building, Milwaukee, Chairman; H. H. Jacobs, University Settlement, Milwaukee, Secretary.

RECENT PUBLICATIONS OF

The National Child Labor Committee

Single copies of these publications may be had gratis, except as otherwise noted, upon application to the Secretary of the National Child Labor Committee, 105 East 22d Street, New York City.

Earlier publications of the Committee, not given below, will be found listed in the following volumes published by the Committee: "Child Labor" (1905); "Child Labor, A Menace to Industry, Education and Good Citizenship" (1906); "Child Labor and the Republic" (1907); "Child Labor and Social Progress" (1908).

I. SMALLER SERIES:

Nos. 1 to 10 out of print.

No. 11. NIGHT SCENES IN THE CITY OF BROTHERLY LOVE. Illustrated. Pp. 10. 1907.

12. Out of print.

13. THE CHILD AND THE MACHINE. Illustrated. Pp. 4. 1907.

14. CHILDREN IN THE GLASS INDUSTRY OF PENNSYLVANIA. Illustrated. Third Edition (Revised). Pp. 16. 1908.

15. LITTLE GARMENT MAKERS OF THE TENEMENT. Illustrated. Pp. 8. 1907.

16. THE CALL OF THE FACTORY. Illustrated. Pp. 8. 1907.

17. POVERTY AND CHILD LABOR. Illustrated. Pp. 16. 1907.

18. Out of print.

19. THE NATIONAL CHILD LABOR COMMITTEE AND ITS WORK. By Everett W. Lord, Secretary for New England, National Committee. Second Edition. Pp. 16. 1909.

20. THE SONG OF THE SHIRT. Illustrated. Pp. 4. 1908.

21. AN ACT OF THANKSGIVING. Illustrated. Pp. 4. 1908. (Out of print.)

22. A HOLIDAY APPEAL. Illustrated. Pp. 4. 1908. (Out of print.)

23. EDUCATED AT THE COAL MINE. Illustrated. Pp. 4. 1908.

24. EXTRACTS FROM FOURTH ANNUAL REPORT OF THE GENERAL SECRETARY. Pp. 4. 1909.

25. WHAT ABOUT THE CHILDREN. Illustrated. Pp. 8. 1909.

II. LARGER SERIES:

No. 40. CHILD LABOR AND THE REPUBLIC. A volume containing the addresses and proceedings of the Third Annual Meeting of the National Committee. Pp. 196. 1907. Price, cloth bound, $1.25; paper, $1.

69. CHILD LABOR AND SOCIAL PROGRESS. A volume containing the addresses and proceedings of the Fourth Annual Meeting of the National Committee. Pp. 180. 1908. Price, cloth bound, $1.25; paper, $1.

83. A Federal Children's Bureau. Pp. 4. 1908.
84. Children Who Work in the Tenements. Illustrated. Pp. 8. 1908.
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92. Child Labor in the Carolinas. Illustrated. By A. J. McKelway, Secretary for the Southern States, National Committee. Pp. 20. 1909.
93. Child Labor and Public Schools. By Everett W. Lord. Pp. 16. 1909.
94. Child Workers of the Nation. A volume containing the addresses and proceedings of the Fifth Annual Conference on Child Labor, held under the auspices of the National Committee, at Chicago, January, 1909; also the address of Miss Lillian D. Wald, on the Federal Children's Bureau Bill, delivered at the House hearing before Congress, Washington, January, 1909. Pp. 256. 1909. Price, cloth bound, $1.25; paper, $1.00.

The addresses presented at the Fifth Annual Conference on Child Labor, printed separately in pamphlet form, are available for free distribution as follows:

No. 95. Child Labor and the Juvenile Court. By Dr. James A. Britton, Chicago. Pp. 8. 1909.
96. Practical Restrictions on Child Labor in the Textile Industries; Higher Educational and Physical Qualifications. By Howell Cheney, Cheney Silk Mills, South Manchester, Conn. Pp. 16. 1909.
97. Child Labor in the Ohio Valley States. By E. N. Clopper. Pp. 8. 1909.
98. The Present Situation in Illinois. By Edgar T. Davies, Chief Factory Inspector of Illinois. Pp. 12. 1909.
99. Accidents to Working Children. By Edwin W. DeLeon, First Vice-President, Casualty Company of Ameica, New York. Pp. 16. 1909.
100. Conserving Childhood. By Andrew S. Draper, LL.B., LL.D., Commissioner of Education of the State of New York, Albany, N. Y. Pp. 16. 1909.
101. The Federal Children's Bureau. A Symposium by (1) Miss Lillian D. Wald, New York, Headworker Henry Street Settlement (address at hearing on the bill in Congress, before the House Committee on Expenditures in the Interior Department); (2) Jane Addams, Hull House; (3) Leo Arnstein, New York;

(4) Judge Ben B. Lindsey, Denver; (5) Henry B. Favill, M.D., Chicago; (6) Professor Charles R. Henderson, Chicago; (7) Mrs. Florence Kelley, New York; (8) Samuel McCune Lindsay, Ph.D., New York. Pp. 28. 1909.

102. Some Effects of Improper Posture in Factory Labor. By Dr. Albert H. Freiberg, Cincinnati, O. Pp. 8. 1909.

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108. Some Unsettled Questions About Child Labor. By Owen R. Lovejoy, General Secretary, National Committee. Pp. 16. 1909.

109. The Difficulties of Child Labor Legislation in a Southern State. By Hon. James R. McDowell, State Senator, Jackson, Miss. Pp. 8. 1909.

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111. The Duty of a Rich Nation to Take Care of Her Children. By (I) Isaac N. Seligman, New York City, Chairman *pro tempore,* National Child Labor Committee; (II) Professor Charles R. Henderson, Chicago, Representing the Governor of Illinois. Pp. 8. 1909.

112. Uniform Systems of Child Labor Statistics. By Hon. John Williams, State Commissioner of Labor, Albany, New York. Pp. 12. 1909.

113. Reports from State and Local Child Labor Committees presented at the Fifth Annual Conference on Child Labor. Pp. 32. 1909.

114. Children in Street Trades. Proceedings of the section meeting devoted to this subject at the Chicago Conference on Child Labor. Pp. 12. 1909.

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